

The Infancy Gospel of Thomas:
The Text, its Origins, and its Transmission.

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Graduate Department of Religion, University of Toronto

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by Tony Chartrand-Burke, Ph.D. 2001

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The *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* (IGT), an early apocryphal writing about Jesus' childhood, has been known in the West for centuries—IGT was first published in the seventeenth century—yet, after all this time, scholars interested in the text remain focused on recovering its earliest form and on situating it in the spectrum between heresy and orthodoxy. Such efforts have overshadowed the need to situate this text in the history of literature. Only by identifying its literary affinities can IGT truly be understood.

Upon IGT's discovery scholars immediately identified the text as the "Gospel of Thomas" mentioned by a number of early Church writers and frequently associated with gnostics. The absence of anything remotely gnostic in the text led to the creation of an expurgation theory which holds that gnostic discourses must have been removed from the text by a Catholic reviser. With the publication of the true *Gospel of Thomas* from Nag Hammadi in 1956 both the association with Gnosticism and the expurgation theory should have come to an end; yet many scholars continue to claim that gnostic sayings have been removed from the text.

This dissertation seeks to correct these ideas. Recent work on IGT has shown that the text has been lengthened over the centuries, not shortened, with material having been added to the text in order to harmonize its portrayal of Jesus with that of the NT gospels. New Greek manuscripts of the gospel, edited and published here for the first time, help to bolster this shorter text theory and aid in tracing the text's transmission. They also set

IGT on a firm text-critical foundation for the study of its contents. A critical analysis of these contents reveals that IGT was never more gnostic at all. In fact, the conventions employed in ancient biographical literature dictate that childhood portrayals of eminent adults are intended to foreshadow their later career. IGT's irascible wonderworker, therefore, is based not on gnostic contempt for the world but from the author's belief that the *adult* Jesus was just as likely to curse as to bless. These conventions reveal also that IGT's Jesus is wise and mature not because he is meant to be understood as a gnostic Redeemer figure but because, in antiquity, these qualities often were celebrated in praiseworthy children. The ancients valued their offspring only when they approached adulthood, for in adulthood they were needed to care for their parents and carry on the family name. It was in adulthood too that a person attained reason, the requisite virtue for becoming truly human.

The Jesus of IGT, therefore, is far more ordinary than previously thought. He is temperamental, not because he represents gnostic contempt of the world, but because the author believes his young Jesus is consistent with the Jesus, and the apostles, of the NT. He is mature and wise not because he is not really human—neither gnostic Redeemer nor god-child—but because in the eyes of the text's author and audience, these things make him human.

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Abbreviations

<i>BHG</i>	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca</i> . Edited by François Halkin. 3d ed. Subsidia hagiographica 8. Brussels: Société des Bollandists, 1957.
<i>BHGⁿ</i>	<i>Novum auctarium bibliothecae hagiographicae graecae</i> . Edited by François Halkin. Subsidia hagiographica 65. Brussels: Société des Bollandists, 1984.
<i>CANT</i>	<i>Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti</i> . Edited by M. Geerard. Turnhout: Brepols, 1992.
<i>CIJ</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum judaicarum</i> . Edited by Jean Baptiste Frey. Rome: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1936–1952.
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i> . Edited by the Berlin Royal Academy. Berlin: Reimer, 1863–1974.
<i>CPJ</i>	<i>Corpus papyrorum judaicarum</i> . Edited by A. Tcherikover and Alexander Fuks. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960.
<i>EA²</i>	<i>Evangelia Apocrypha</i> . Edited by Constantin Tischendorf. 2d ed. Leipzig: H. Mendelsohn, 1876.
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones graecae</i> . Edited by F. H. von Gaertringen <i>et al.</i> Berlin: De Gruyter, 1890–.
<i>ILCV</i>	<i>Inscriptiones latinae christianae veteres</i> . Edited by E. Diehl. 2d ed. Berlin, 1961.
<i>ILS</i>	<i>Inscriptiones latinae selectae</i> . Edited by Hermann Dessau. Berolini: Apud Weidemannos, 1892.
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia graeca</i> . Edited by J.-P. Migne. 162 vols. Paris, 1844–1864.
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia latina</i> . Edited by J.-P. Migne. 217 vols. Paris, 1844–1864.
<i>P. Oxy.</i>	<i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> . Edited by B. P. Grenfell <i>et al.</i> London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1898–.
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum graecum</i> . Edited by P. Roussel <i>et al.</i> Lugduni Batavorum: Sijthoff, 1923–.

* * *

Witnesses to the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*

Greek Manuscripts

<i>A</i>	Athens, <i>Cod. Ath. Gr</i> 355
<i>B</i>	Bologna, <i>Univ.</i> 2702
<i>C</i>	<i>Cod. Sinaiticus Gr</i> 532
<i>D</i>	Dresden, <i>A</i> 187
<i>H</i>	Jerusalem, <i>Cod. Sabaiticus</i> 259
<i>L</i>	Mount Athos, <i>Cod. Lavra</i> Θ 222
<i>M</i>	Samos, B. Metropoleos <i>MS Gr</i> 54
<i>O</i>	Vienna, <i>Phil. Gr</i> 162
<i>P</i>	Paris, <i>A. F. Gr</i> 239
<i>R</i>	Rome, <i>Vat. Palat. Gr</i> 364

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>S</i>	<i>Cod. Sinaiticus Gr 453</i>
<i>T</i>	<i>Vienna, Cod. theol. Gr 123</i>
<i>V</i>	<i>Mount Athos, Cod. Vatopedi 37</i>
<i>W</i>	<i>Vienna, Cod. hist. Gr 91</i>
Versions	
<i>Eth</i>	<i>Ethiopic, Miracles of Jesus ch. 8</i>
<i>Geo</i>	<i>Georgian, MS Tblisi, Cod. A 95</i>
<i>Ir</i>	<i>Irish, National Library of Ireland MS G 50</i>
<i>Lm</i>	<i>Ps.-Mt. chs. 26–42</i>
<i>Lt</i>	<i>Tischendorf's Latin MS, Vat. lat. 4578</i>
<i>Lv</i>	<i>Latin palimpsest, Vindobonensis 563</i>
<i>Sl</i>	<i>Slavonic family of MSS</i>
<i>Syr</i>	<i>Syriac MSS</i>

Non-Canonical Christian Texts

<i>I Clem.</i>	<i>I Clement</i>
<i>Acts John</i>	<i>Acts of John</i>
<i>Acts Paul</i>	<i>Acts of Paul</i>
<i>Acts Pet.</i>	<i>Acts of Peter</i>
<i>Acts Pil.</i>	<i>Acts of Pilate</i>
<i>Acts Thom.</i>	<i>Acts of Thomas</i>
<i>Ap. Jas.</i>	<i>Apocryphon of James</i>
<i>Ap. John</i>	<i>Apocryphon of John</i>
<i>Arab. Gos. Inf.</i>	<i>Arabic Infancy Gospel</i>
<i>Aristides</i>	
<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apology</i>
<i>Arm. Gos. Inf.</i>	<i>Armenian Infancy Gospel</i>
<i>Arnobius</i>	
<i>Adv. nat.</i>	<i>Adversus nationes</i>
<i>Ascen. Isa.</i>	<i>Ascension of Isaiah</i>
<i>Assum. Vir.</i>	<i>Assumption of the Virgin</i>
<i>Augustine</i>	
<i>Civ.</i>	<i>The City of God</i>
<i>Barn.</i>	<i>Barnabas</i>
<i>Clement of Alexandria</i>	
<i>Paed.</i>	<i>Christ the Educator</i>
<i>Strom.</i>	<i>Miscellanies</i>
<i>Dial. Sav.</i>	<i>Dialogue of the Saviour</i>
<i>Did.</i>	<i>Didache</i>
<i>Didasc.</i>	<i>Didascalia</i>
<i>Diogn.</i>	<i>Diognetus</i>
<i>Ep. Apos.</i>	<i>Epistle to the Apostles</i>
<i>Epiphanius</i>	
<i>Pan.</i>	<i>Refutation of All Heresies</i>
<i>(Eth.) Apoc. Pet.</i>	<i>(Ethiopic) Apocalypse of Peter</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

Eusebius	
<i>Hist. eccl.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>Mart. Pal.</i>	<i>The Martyrs of Palestine</i>
<i>Gos. Bart.</i>	<i>Gospel of Bartholomew</i>
<i>Gos. Eb.</i>	<i>Gospel of the Ebionites</i>
<i>Gos. Heb.</i>	<i>Gospel of the Hebrews</i>
<i>Gos. Mary</i>	<i>Gospel of Mary</i>
<i>Gos. Nic.</i>	<i>Gospel of Nicodemus</i>
<i>Gos. Pet.</i>	<i>Gospel of Peter</i>
<i>Gos. Phil.</i>	<i>Gospel of Philip</i>
<i>Gos. Thom.</i>	<i>Gospel of Thomas</i>
Hippolytus	
<i>Haer.</i>	<i>Refutation of all Heresies</i>
<i>Trad. ap.</i>	<i>The Apostolic Tradition</i>
<i>Hist. Jos. Carp.</i>	<i>History of Joseph the Carpenter</i>
IGT	<i>Infancy Gospel of Thomas</i>
Irenaeus	
<i>Haer.</i>	<i>Against Heresies</i>
Jerome	
<i>Comm. Isa.</i>	<i>Commentariorum in Isaiam libri XVIII</i>
John Chrysostom	
<i>Hom. Jo.</i>	<i>Homiliae in Joannem</i>
<i>Hom. Matt.</i>	<i>Homiliae in Matthaeum</i>
Justin	
<i>I Apol.</i>	<i>First Apology</i>
<i>Dial.</i>	<i>Dialogue with Trypho</i>
Minucius Felix	
<i>Oct.</i>	<i>Octavius</i>
Origen	
<i>Cels.</i>	<i>Against Celsus</i>
<i>Comm. Matt.</i>	<i>Commentarium in evangelium Matthaei</i>
<i>Pap. Eg.</i>	<i>Papyrus Egerton</i>
Paulinus	
<i>Vit. Ambr.</i>	<i>Vita Ambrosii</i>
Pololycarp	
<i>Phil.</i>	<i>To the Philippians</i>
Pontius	
<i>Vit. Cypr.</i>	<i>Vita Cypriani</i>
<i>Prot. Jas.</i>	<i>Protevangelium of James</i>
Prudentius	
<i>Perist.</i>	<i>Peristephanon</i>
<i>Ps.-Clem.</i>	<i>Pseudo-Clementines</i>
<i>Ps.-Mt.</i>	<i>Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew</i>
Rufinus	
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Eusebii Historia ecclesiastica a Rufino translata et continuata</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Soph. Jes. Chr.</i>	<i>Sophia of Jesus Christ</i>
Tertullian	
<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apology</i>
<i>Nat.</i>	<i>Ad nationes</i>
<i>Ux.</i>	<i>Ad uxorem</i>
Theodoret	
<i>Phil. hist.</i>	<i>History of the Monks of Syria</i>
<i>Thom. Cont.</i>	<i>Book of Thomas the Contender</i>
Timothy of Constantinople	
<i>Rec. haer.</i>	<i>De receptione haereticorum</i>

Intra- and Post-Biblical Jewish Texts

<i>1 En.</i>	<i>1 Enoch</i>
<i>1QapGen^{or}</i>	<i>Genesis Apocryphon</i>
<i>4QPrNab ar</i>	<i>Prayer of Nabonidus</i>
Josephus	
<i>Ag. Ap.</i>	<i>Against Apion</i>
<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Jewish Antiquities</i>
<i>J.W.</i>	<i>Jewish War</i>
<i>Life</i>	<i>The Life</i>
<i>Jub.</i>	<i>Jubilees</i>
<i>L.A.B.</i>	<i>Liber antiquitatum biblicarum</i> (Pseudo-Philo)
<i>Liv. Pro.</i>	<i>Lives of the Prophets</i>
Mishnaic and Rabbinic Literature	
<i>Ber.</i>	<i>Berukhot</i>
<i>'Ed.</i>	<i>Eduyyot</i>
<i>'Erub.</i>	<i>Eruvin</i>
<i>Gen. Rab.</i>	<i>Genesis Rabbah</i>
<i>Ketub.</i>	<i>Ketubbot</i>
<i>Me'il.</i>	<i>Me'ilah</i>
<i>Šeqal.</i>	<i>Sheqalim</i>
<i>Sotah</i>	<i>Sotah</i>
<i>Sukkah</i>	<i>Sukkah</i>
<i>Ta'an.</i>	<i>Ta'anit</i>
<i>Yebam.</i>	<i>Yevamot</i>
Philo	
<i>Abr.</i>	<i>On the Life of Abraham</i>
<i>Dreams</i>	<i>On Dreams</i>
<i>Hypoth.</i>	<i>Hypothetica</i>
<i>Moses</i>	<i>On the Life of Moses</i>
<i>Spec. Laws</i>	<i>On the Special Laws</i>

Greco-Roman Texts

Aelian	
<i>Var. hist.</i>	<i>Varia historia</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

Aulus Gellius	
<i>Noct. att.</i>	<i>Attic Nights</i>
Catullus	
<i>Epith.</i>	<i>Epithalamion</i>
Cicero	
<i>Att.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i>
<i>Mur.</i>	<i>Pro Murena</i>
<i>Rep.</i>	<i>De republica</i>
<i>Sen.</i>	<i>De senectute</i>
<i>Tusc.</i>	<i>Tusculanae disputationes</i>
<i>Verr.</i>	<i>In Verrem</i>
Dio Cassius	
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Historiae</i>
Eunapius	
<i>Vit. soph.</i>	<i>Vitae sophistarum</i>
Fronto	
<i>Amic.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad Amicos</i>
Galen	
<i>Libr. Ord.</i>	<i>περὶ τῆς τάξεως τῶν ἰδίων βιβλίων</i>
<i>Libr. Propr.</i>	<i>περὶ τῶν ἰδίων βιβλίων</i>
Herodotus	
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Histories</i>
Hesiod	
<i>Op.</i>	<i>Works and Days</i>
<i>Theog.</i>	<i>Theogony</i>
Homeric Hymns	
<i>Hymn. Herm.</i>	<i>Hymnus ad Hermes</i>
<i>Hymn. Apoll.</i>	<i>Hymnus ad Apollinem</i>
Horace	
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Satires</i>
Iamblichus	
<i>Vit. Pyth.</i>	<i>Vita Pythagorica</i>
Libanius	
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orationes</i>
Lucian	
<i>Demon.</i>	<i>Demonax</i>
<i>Somn.</i>	<i>The Dream, or Lucian's Career</i>
Nepos	
<i>Att.</i>	<i>Atticus</i>
<i>Epam.</i>	<i>Epaminondas</i>
Nicholas of Damascus	
<i>Vit. Caes.</i>	<i>Vita Caesaris</i>
Ovid	
<i>Trist.</i>	<i>Tristia</i>
<i>Pan. Lat.</i>	<i>Panegyrici Latini</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

Philostratus	
<i>Vit. Apoll.</i>	<i>Vita Apollonii</i>
<i>Vit. soph.</i>	<i>Vita sophistarum</i>
Pliny the Younger	
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
Plutarch	
<i>Alex.</i>	<i>Alexander</i>
<i>Cat. Maj.</i>	<i>Cato Major</i>
<i>Conj. praec.</i>	<i>Conjugalia praecepta</i>
<i>Mor.</i>	<i>Moralia</i>
<i>Pyrrh.</i>	<i>Pyrrhus</i>
<i>Thes.</i>	<i>Theseus</i>
Porphry	
<i>Vit. Pyth.</i>	<i>Vita Pythagorae</i>
Pseudo-Herodotus	
<i>Vit. Hom.</i>	<i>Vita Homeri</i>
Quintillian	
<i>Inst.</i>	<i>Institutio oratoria</i>
S.H.A.	<i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae</i>
Sophocles	
<i>Ichn.</i>	<i>Ichneutae</i>
Suetonius	
<i>Aug.</i>	<i>Devus Augustus</i>
<i>Gai.</i>	<i>Gaius</i>
<i>Vesp.</i>	<i>Vespasianus</i>
Symmachus	
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
Tacitus	
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Historiae</i>
Tzetzes	
<i>Theog.</i>	<i>Theogony</i>
<i>Vit. Pind.</i>	<i>Vita Pindari</i>
<i>Vit. Soph.</i>	<i>Vita Sopoclei</i>

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Over three centuries ago, when Enlightenment New Testament scholars were searching for new Biblical manuscripts, a fragment of a text was found that promised to solve some of the enduring riddles of early Christian times. The text bore the title “Book on the childhood deeds of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ” and was attributed to “Thomas the Israelite.” It seemed at the time that the “Gospel of Thomas” associated long ago with heretical gnostic Christians had been recovered. But this was a “Gospel of Thomas” far different from what scholars had expected.

Instead of the elaborate cosmological myths, complicated christology, and ambiguous Jesus-sayings that were expected of gnostic gospels, this “Gospel of Thomas” offered only stories of a precocious young wonderworker. Even a longer, apparently complete text published in the eighteenth century failed to meet scholars’ expectations. The gospel, according to the still-prevalent reading of the text, begins with Jesus in Nazareth at five years old using his divine powers to purify rain water. He then forms birds out of clay and animates them with a command to “Fly away.” When another boy, the son of Annas the scribe, disturbs the water Jesus had cleansed, Jesus curses the boy and immediately his arm withers. Any others who dare to anger Jesus meet similar ends. A boy who accidentally knocks against Jesus’ arm falls dead, and when the townspeople complain about this to Joseph, they are struck blind. Even Joseph is warned, “Don’t make me upset!” Nevertheless, a teacher, Zacchaeus, endeavours to teach the boy some respect,

though he is humiliated by Jesus' superior knowledge. Zacchaeus' public display of shame and admission that the boy is "something great" pleases Jesus. From there on, he uses his abilities for the benefit of his neighbours—he restores the sight of his accusers, he resuscitates a boy who falls from a roof, and heals a young man of a life-threatening wound. At the age of six, he fetches water for his mother using only his cloak; and then, at eight years of age, he sows a measure of grain and reaps a miraculous harvest. Next, the boy helps his father build a bed by making two pieces of wood equal in length. Seeing his son's cleverness, Joseph takes him to a second teacher; but when Jesus refuses to recite the alphabet, the teacher strikes him on the head and then collapses as a result of the boy's curse. A third teacher then takes up the challenge of instructing Jesus, but this time the boy simply takes up a book and teaches the Law to all those present. Like Zacchaeus before him, this third teacher admits that Jesus needs no instruction, and sends him home with his father. Thereafter, Jesus resumes his benevolent miracles, saving his brother James from a snake bite and resuscitating both a baby and a housebuilder. The story concludes with the familiar tale of Jesus at twelve in the Temple, though where Luke has Jesus listen to the teachers and ask them questions, IGT has him also explain the Law and the parables.

These are not the only stories of Jesus' childhood. A number of other tales weave in and out of the IGT manuscript tradition. There is the story of *Jesus and the Dyer* in which the young wonderworker dunks several articles of clothing into a single dye and pulls them out in various colours. In *Jesus Rides the Sunbeam*, Jesus leaps from a window and slides down to the ground on a beam of light. Statues of foreign gods bow to the young Jesus in *Jesus and the Temple of Idols*, and in *Jesus Turns Jewish Children*

into *Swine* Jesus' playmates are transformed into pigs for daring to hide from him. Additional tales are told of the infant Jesus and his family in Egypt in certain witnesses to IGT and in the later infancy gospels of *Ps.-Mt.*, *Arab. Gos. Inf.*, and *Arm. Gos. Inf.* Then in the Middle Ages the corpus of stories was expanded even further with the transformation of European folktales into deeds of the young Jesus.

There is much in the childhood tales to excite both ancient and modern readers. In them the all-wise Jesus acts like a petulant child, lashing out in anger at all who cross him; this child's tantrums, however, have devastating consequences. At first glance, IGT's Jesus bears little similarity to either gnostic portrayals of Jesus or the familiar Jesus of the canonical gospels. Its unusual characterization of the Christian leader has elicited fiery emotional responses from readers of the text. The miracles have been called "ridiculous" and "immoral,"¹ "puerile, or malevolent and cruel,"² "anstössige und abstossende,"³ or just plain "crude."⁴ IGT's Jesus has been called a "hero of ridiculous and shabby pranks,"⁵ and "an *enfant terrible* who seldom acts in a Christian way."⁶ And the text in general has been deemed "utterly worthless"⁷ and "lacking in good taste,

¹ C. E. Stowe, *Origin and History of the Books of the Bible, Both the Canonical and the Apocryphal* (Hartford, Conn.: Hartford Publishing Company, 1868), 206; and similarly, Adam F. Findlay, *Byways in Early Christian Literature* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1923), 173.

² B. Harris Cowper, *The Apocryphal Gospels and Other Documents Relating to the History of Christ* (4th ed.; London: Frederic Norgate, 1874), 129.

³ Adolf Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius* (2 vols.; 1893–1897; repr., Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1958), 2:593.

⁴ Oscar Cullmann, "Infancy Gospels" (= "Infancy Gospels²") in *New Testament Apocrypha*, Vol. 1, *Gospels and Related Writings* (ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, trans. R. McL. Wilson; rev. ed.; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1991), 442; J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 68.

⁵ Jacques Hervieux, *The New Testament Apocrypha* (trans. Dom Wulstan Hibberd; New York: Hawthorn Books, 1960), 106.

⁶ Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 68.

⁷ Cowper, *The Apocryphal Gospels*, 129.

restraint and discretion.”⁸ Only through some clever mental acrobatics could such a text be reconciled with the presumably more cerebral gnostic work mentioned in the citations. Most scholars accounted for the discrepancy in the evidence with appeal to an “expurgation theory.” According to the hypothesis, the gospel was once a much longer text but its offensive gnostic material has been subsequently removed by an orthodox reviser. It rarely occurred to champions of the theory that the citations could refer to a completely different text.

When the “true” *Gospel of Thomas* was recovered most scholars lost interest in IGT. In the fifty years since the publication of *Gos. Thom.*, hundreds of books and articles have been published on the Nag Hammadi text; in the same period, there have been only five significant works on IGT. These works are notable for their efforts at integrating all of the witnesses to the text in a comprehensive theory of origin. Most instrumental in this process has been the work of Sever J. Voicu. In two articles for the journal *Apocrypha*,⁹ Voicu effectively demonstrated that IGT is preserved best in several early versions of the text—the Syriac, Georgian, Ethiopic, and Old Latin translations—and not the published Greek manuscripts. In his view, the text was actually once shorter than the nineteen-chapter *textus receptus*, not longer, and originally did not even bear the name of Thomas. In fact the true title is Τὰ παιδικὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, or “The Childhood Deeds of the Lord Jesus.” Voicu also brought attention to a new Greek manuscript of the text: the eleventh-century *Saba* 259. In a chart of correspondences between the various witnesses, he demonstrated that *Saba* 259 occupies an intermediate

⁸ Cullmann, “Infancy Gospels²,” 442.

⁹ Sever J. Voicu, “Notes sur l’histoire du texte de L’Histoire de l’Enfance de Jésus,” *Apocrypha* 2 (1991): 119–32; idem, “Verso il testo primitivo dei Παιδικὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ‘Racconti dell’ infanzia del Signore Gesù,’” *Apocrypha* 9 (1998): 7–95.

position between the early versions and the later Greek MSS. Unfortunately, his lack of confidence in the Greek tradition prevented him from publishing a full collation of the MS. Up to now, all that has been revealed about *Saba* 259 are its general structure and the readings which Voicu translated into Italian—and many of these readings are erroneous.

Voicu's work has yet to make much of an impact on those scholars only peripherally interested in the text. The majority of scholarship on the gospel still suffers from problems separating IGT from the pre-Nag Hammadi theories. Scholars continue to grapple with the "Gospel of Thomas" citations, to associate IGT with unrelated Thomas literature, and to search for signs of gnostic affinities within the text. As for the recovery of the text itself, there is much work that remains to be done: several of the early versions require new critical editions, and no-one has made an effort to publish the important *Saba* 259, nor to examine fully a number of other unpublished Greek MSS, one of which has been known to scholars for over a century. IGT is now left in an unenviable position: few scholars are willing to deal extensively with the text because of its complex MS history, and those knowledgeable in the languages of the important early versions do not care to work with the Greek text. Three centuries have passed since the gospel's recovery and its study is practically at a standstill.

This dissertation is an attempt to advance the study of IGT by redressing previous assessments of the text. The erroneous association of the gospel with the apostle Thomas and gnostic Christianity has interfered with establishing its origins and christological affinities. So too have the expurgation theory and the neglect of text-critical issues hindered the recovery of the original text of IGT. Following Voicu, IGT is considered

here to be represented inadequately in the published Greek MSS. Contrary to Voicu, however, *Saba 259*, published now for the first time, is shown here to be a witness of at least equal value to the early versions. Given that IGT likely was composed in Greek, *Saba 259* is extremely valuable for recovering the original text of the gospel and for determining its aims and literary affinities. Indeed, when compared to other miracleworkers in Christian literature, IGT's Jesus looks less like an *enfant terrible*, and more like such eschatological adult holy men as Elijah, the apostles, and the NT Jesus himself. And when compared to other idealized presentations of children in antiquity, IGT's Jesus looks less like an all-wise divine child or young gnostic, and more like other venerated figures and praiseworthy children who display adultlike wisdom and maturity in their youth. Placed in their appropriate context, the childhood tales do not look so heretical after all.

The dissertation is comprised of three sections. The first is a comprehensive overview of all previous scholarship on IGT. No summary of the secondary literature has ever been performed for this text. As a result, numerous early treatments of the gospel have been neglected in the more recent discussions. The failure to integrate fully both the mistakes and the achievements of the past has led IGT scholarship to its present deplorable state. Section two is essentially a critical edition of the text. The first chapter entails an analysis of all the published and unpublished Greek MSS as well as a detailed description of the versions. Readings from all the known Greek witnesses are then presented in a synopsis which allows for comparison of the four recensions of the text. This is followed by an English translation of IGT based on *Saba 259* and incorporating variants from the other Greek MSS and the versions. The final chapter of the section

features an analysis of the relationships between the various witnesses, a discussion of the text's theme and origins, and a description of its subsequent transmission history. The third section of the dissertation evaluates and eliminates from consideration any association of IGT with Gnosticism, and establishes a connection between the tales of the young wonderworker and the powerful and often irascible popular figure of the eschatological prophet. Then follows an extensive examination of notions about children and childhood in antiquity. IGT's characterization of Jesus is shown to be influenced by the stereotypical manner in which venerated figures were portrayed in the literature of the Mediterranean world. The same qualities valued in these figures filtered down to the lower classes and appear in funerary reliefs and epitaphs to deceased children. In all levels of Mediterranean society, childhood was seen as such an ignoble stage in human development that biographers and mourners were unwilling to remember their heroes or loved ones as having suffered its indignities. The ideal child, therefore, was not a child at all, but an adult in a child's form. Writing in an era when various philosophical, religious, and political groups argued the merits of their beliefs through tales of the lives of their leaders, the author of IGT could do no less than present Jesus in a way that is competitive with the subjects of non-Christian childhood tales—with every word and deed an indication of his future greatness.

Today, scholars of early Christianity are far more willing than their predecessors to study without judgement so-called "heretical" portrayals of Jesus. Except, that is, for IGT. This gospel remains the most vilified of all the NT Apocrypha. For that reason, it is also the most neglected of the early noncanonical gospels. My hope is that this

dissertation will put an end to anachronistic assessments and subsequent dismissals of IGT. Then, perhaps, fair analysis of its contents truly can begin.

Explanatory Note

The four recensions of IGT—*Ga*, *Gb*, *Gc*, and *Gs*—each differ at times in their chapter numbering. To reduce confusion, references to sections of the text will include the recension name (e.g. *Ga* 5:2 rather than IGT 5:2). Readers are cautioned to pay careful attention to which version of the text is being cited. For the most part, however, *Ga* is used throughout the discussion of previous scholarship, and *Gs* for the discussion of the original text.

SECTION I

This first section of the dissertation is dedicated to a comprehensive overview of previous scholarship on the text. The summary is intended to acquaint readers with the substantial number of studies on IGT—including MS discoveries, brief treatments in NT Apocrypha collections, and recent efforts at gathering together the various witnesses to the text—as well as to reproduce, for the first time in over a century, all the ancient testimonies which mention either childhood stories of Jesus or a “Gospel of Thomas.” No survey of this magnitude has ever been undertaken for IGT. A knowledge of all the previous scholarship—its strengths and its weaknesses—is essential for determining the origins, development, and transmission of the text.

CHAPTER 2

The Infancy Gospel of Thomas Through the Centuries

IGT ranks as one of the most neglected texts of the Christian Apocrypha. It has rarely been the sole subject of an entire book, even of an entire article. Its complex MS tradition, in Greek and other languages, has yet to be unraveled; indeed, many MSS remain unpublished and, in several cases, the published MSS are poor representatives of their individual branch of the tradition. The reasons for this neglect are simple: few have the requisite language skills to synthesize all of this material into an adequate critical edition, and most find the childhood stories so puerile and repugnant that they refuse to investigate them in any detail.

However, scholars have not *completely* ignored this text. IGT scholarship takes three basic forms: an edition of a new MS (typically accompanied by a claim for the discovery's pre-eminence as a witness to the original text), a text-critical analysis of the entire tradition, and, most frequently, a brief commentary on the gospel which does little more than ridicule its contents and, by extension, its putative audience. The text-critical works represent the peaks of IGT research. But while the most capable of the IGT scholars occupied themselves with plotting and replotting the transmission history of the text, other aspects of the gospel, including its literary affinities and socio-historical background, were left unexamined.

Doubtless these lacunae in scholarship have led to the many poorly-informed treatments of IGT found in the dictionaries and NT Apocrypha collections. It will be apparent from the following overview of research that much of the discussion on the text has been influenced by the erroneous identification of IGT with the “Gospel of Thomas” known to writers of the early church, an identification which, in some scholarly circles, did not end with the publication of the true *Gos. Thom.* in 1956. As a result, numerous writers continue to believe without basis that IGT was once a longer work filled with gnostic elements later purged by an orthodox reviser. The past fifty years of scholarship have been marked by efforts to quash this “expurgation” theory once and for all and replace it with a hypothesis of “augmentation” better supported by the MS evidence. Slowly the original form of IGT is finally coming into view. With it should come new assessments of the text that will push aside attempts at connecting it to Gnosticism and that will put an end to anachronistic judgements of its controversial contents.

2.1 From Antiquity to the Middle Ages.

All of the testimonies cited by modern authors are reproduced here, for the moment, without much comment; evaluations of their relevance and significance, will follow in the pages to come.

2.1.1 Early Parallels in Christian Literature

2.1.1.1 *Ep. Apos. 4* (*CANT* 22; 2d c.?: Egypt? Asia Minor?: translated from Ethiopic by

This is what our Lord Jesus Christ did, who was delivered by Joseph and Mary his mother to where he might learn letters. And he who taught him said to him as he taught him, 'Say Alpha.' He answered and said to him, 'First you tell me what Beta is.' And truly (it was) a real thing which was done (cf. *Ga* 6:4, 14:2).

2.1.1.2 *Acts Thom.* 79 (*CANT* 245; 3d c.?; Syria; text: Lipsius and Bonnet, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, 99–291):

πιστεύσατε ἐπὶ τῷ γεννηθέντι Χριστῷ ἵνα οἱ γεννηθέντες διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ζωῆς ζήσωσιν· ὃς καὶ ἀνετράφη διὰ νηπίου, ἵνα ἡ τελειότης διὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου αὐτοῦ φανῇ. ἐδίδαξεν τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτοῦ μαθητάς· τῆς γὰρ ἀληθείας διδάσκαλος αὐτός ἐστιν καὶ τῶν σοφῶν ὁ σοφιστής.

Believe in Christ, who was born that the born may live through his life, who also was raised up through infancy so that the full maturity may be manifest through his adulthood. He taught his own disciples (Latin text: his own teacher [magistrum suum]), for he is the teacher of truth and the wisest of the wise (cf. *Ga* 6:4, 14:2).

2.1.1.3 *Gos. Bart.* 2:11 (*CANT* 63; 4th c.?; Egypt?; text: Vassiliev, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina* 1, 10–22):

λέγει αὐτοῖς Μαριάμ· κατὰ τὴν ἐκτύπωσιν ὑμῶν ἔπλασεν ὁ Θεὸς τὰ στρουθία καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὰ εἰς τὰς τέσσαρες γωνίας τοῦ κόσμου.

Mary said to them (the apostles): "In your likeness God formed the sparrows and sent them to the four corners of the world" (cf. *Ga* 2).

2.1.1.4 *Hist. Jos. Carp.* 17 (*CANT* 60; 4th c.?; Egypt?; translated from Coptic by Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 114–17):

Do not for this cause wish me evil, O Lord! for I was ignorant of the mystery of your birth. I call to mind also, my Lord, that day when the boy died of the bite of the serpent. And his relations wished to deliver you to Herod, saying that you had killed him; but you raised him from the dead, and restored him to them. Then I went up to you, and took hold of your hand, saying, "My son, take care of yourself." But you said to me in reply,

“Are you not my father after the flesh? I shall teach you who I am” (cf. *Ga* 5, 9, 16).

2.1.2 Early Testimony

2.1.2.1 Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.20.1 (*ante* 180 CE; Lyons; text: Rousseau and Doutreleau):

Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀμύθητον πλῆθος ἀποκρύφων καὶ νόθων γραφῶν, ἃς αὐτοὶ ἐπλασαν, παραφέρουσιν εἰς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἀνοήτων καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας μὴ ἐπισταμένων γράμματα. Προσπαραλαμβάνουσι δὲ εἰς τοῦτο κάκεινο τὸ ῥαδιούργημα, ὡς τοῦ Κυρίου παιδὸς ὄντος καὶ μαθάνοντος τὰ γράμματα, τοῦ διδασκάλου αὐτῷ φήσαντος, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστίν· Εἰπέ ἄλφα, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸ ἄλφα. Πάλιν τε τὸ βῆτα τοῦ διδασκάλου κελεύοντος εἰπεῖν, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν Κύριον· Σὺ μοι πρότερον εἰπέ τί ἐστὶ τὸ ἄλφα, καὶ τότε σοι ἐρῶ τί ἐστὶ τὸ βῆτα. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐξηγοῦνται, ὡς αὐτοῦ μόνου τὸ ἄγνωστον ἐπισταμένου, ὃ ἐφάνερωσεν ἐν τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ ἄλφα.

Besides those passages, they adduce an untold multitude of apocryphal and spurious writings, which they have composed to bewilder foolish men and such as do not understand the letters of the Truth. For this purpose they adduce this falsification: When the Lord was a child and was learning the alphabet, his teacher said to him—as is customary—“Pronounce alpha.” He answered: “Alpha.” Again the teacher ordered him to pronounce “Beta.” Then the Lord answered: “You tell me first what alpha is, and then I shall tell you what beta is.” This they explain in the sense that he alone understood the Unknowable, which he revealed in the figure of ‘alpha’ as in a type (cf. *Ga* 6, 14).

2.1.2.2 Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 88 (ca. 150; Rome; text: Archambault):

Καὶ ἐλθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην, καὶ νομιζομένου Ἰωσήφ τοῦ τέκτονος υἱοῦ ὑπάρχειν, καὶ ἀειδοῦς, ὡς αἱ γραφαὶ ἐκήρυσσον, φαινομένου, καὶ τέκτονος νομιζομένου (ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ τεκτονικὰ ἔργα εἰργάζετο ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὢν, ἄροτρα καὶ ζυγά, διὰ τούτων καὶ τὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης σύμβολα διδάσκων καὶ ἐνεργῇ βίον).

And when Jesus came to the Jordan, and was said to be the son of Joseph the carpenter, he was without beauty, as the scriptures have foretold, and was called a carpenter, for he worked, when he was among humanity, at the carpenter’s trade, making ploughs and yokes; thus teaching a pattern of righteousness, and an active life (cf. *Ga* 13).

2.1.2.3 John Chrysostom, *Hom. Jo. 17* (between 386 and 398; Antioch; PG 59:410):

Ἐπεὶ δὲν ἡμῖν λοιπὸν δὴλον, ὅτι καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἐκεῖνα, ἃ παλαιὰ εἶναι φασὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ψευδῆ καὶ πλάσματα τινα ἐπισταγόντων εἶναι. Εἰ γὰρ ἐκ πρῶτης ἀρχαίως ἐβαντατοῦργε, οὐκ ἂν εἴποιτο αὐτὸν ἡγοῦσεν, οὐδὲ τὸ λοιπὸν πάλιν εἰρηθεῖν αὐτὸν διδοῦναι τοῦ φανερωσάμεν αὐτόν.

Thence, in short, it is plain to us that those miracles which some ascribe to Christ's childhood are false, and merely concoctions of those who bring them to our attention. For if he had worked miracles beginning from his early youth, neither would John have failed to recognize him, nor would the rest of the crowd have needed a teacher to reveal him.

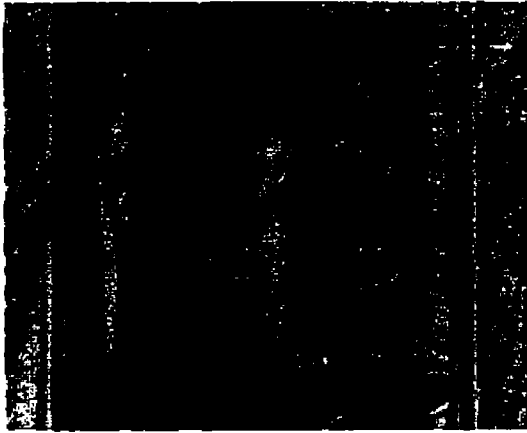
2.1.2.4 Epiphanius of Salamina, *Pan. 51.20.2–3* (376; Cyprus; PG 41:923D–925A):

οὐτε γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ περπατοῦ ἐν γάμοις φάσκει τὸν Χριστόν ἦκεναι. οὐ γὰρ ὅπως τὶ τῶν θεοσημαίων καὶ τοῦ κηρυγματος πρὸ τοῦ περπατοῦ ὁ Χριστὸς εἰργασάτο, εἰ μὴ τὶ ἀόβητα περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν παῶι πεποιήκεναι, ὥς ἐν παιγνίῳ, ὥς τινες φάσκουσι. καὶ εἴτε τῶ μὲν οὐτὶ καὶ παίδαρκα αὐτὸν εἶναι, ἢ καὶ πρὸφασίς γενηταί τὰς ἀλλὰς ἀρεῶν, τὰς λεγούσας, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰοδῶνου ἦλθε Χριστὸς εἰς αὐτόν, ὅπερ εἴτιν ἡ πεπιστεῖσα.

For John does not say that Christ went to a wedding before the temptation, nor did Christ perform any divine signs and preach at all before the temptation—except, perhaps, the ones he is said to have performed in play as a child. (For he ought to have childhood miracles too, to deprive the other sects of an excuse for saying that “the Christ,” meaning the dove, came to him after [his baptism in] the Jordan.)

2.1.2.5 A fifth-century relief of Jesus in school (cf. *Ga 6, 14, 15*) from a pair of ivory book covers in the treasury of the Milian Cathedral.¹

¹ Photo reproduced from Charles Rufus Morey, *Early Christian Art: An Outline of the Evolution of Style and Iconography in Sculpture and Painting from Antiquity to the Eighth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), pl. 142; illustration reproduced from Aurelio de Santos Otero, *Los Evangelios Apócrifos* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1956), lámina v.



2.1.2.6 *Decretum Gelasianum* (6th c.; of South Gallic origin but perhaps in part reflecting 4th c. Roman tradition;² text: Dobschütz) lists as apocryphal: “Liber de infantia salvatoris.”

2.1.3 Later Testimony

2.1.3.1 Antonini Placentini, *Itinerarium* 5 and 13 (ca. 560–570; Nazareth; text: Geyer):

At uero de Tyro uenimus in ciuitatem Nazareth, in qua sunt multe virtutes. Ibi etiam pendit thomus, in quo Dominus a b c habuit impositum. In qua etiam synagoga posita est trauis, ubi cum aliis sedebat infantibus. Quae trauis a christianis agitur et subleuatur, Iudaei uero nullo modo possunt eam agitare, sed nec permittit se foras tolli.

Thence from Tyre we came to the city of Nazareth, in which there are many marvels. Also there lies the book in which the Lord had put A.B.C. In the synagogue also there is the beam where he sat with other children. This beam is moved and raised by Christians, but Jews can in no way move it, nor does it allow itself to be carried out (cf. *Ga* 6, 14).

² For a translation and discussion of the text see Wilhelm Schneemelcher, “General Introduction,” in *New Testament Apocrypha*, Vol. 1, *Gospels and Related Writings* (ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher; trans. R. McL. Wilson; rev. ed.; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1991), 38.

De Iordane usque Hiericho milia VI...Et ante basilica (of St. Mary) campus ager Domini, in quo Dominus manu propria seminavit ferens satum quasi modia tria. Qui etiam colligitur et numquam seritur, sed ex se profert semen. Colligitur autem mense Februario et inde communicantur in pascha. Cum collectum fuerit, aratur et iterum cum reliquis messes colligitur.

It is six miles from the Jordan to Jericho...and before the church (of St. Mary) is the sacred field of the Lord, in which the Lord sowed with his own hand, producing as much as three measures of corn, which also is gathered and never sown, but from the seed it produces itself. Then it is gathered in the month of February that it may be used at the communion at Easter. When it has been gathered, it is ploughed, and gathered again with the rest of the harvest (cf. *Ga* 12).

2.1.3.2 A sixth-/seventh-century list of apocrypha interpolated into Timothy of Constantinople, *Rec. haer.* (PG 86:22C), includes:

Τὰ Παιδικὰ λεγόμενα τοῦ Κυρίου, ἃ συνέταξαν οἱ αὐτοί, θέλοντες δόκησιν ἀποφῆναι τὴν σάρκωσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ.

The so-called Childhood deeds of the Lord, which those drew up who wish to proclaim his incarnation in the flesh an illusion, and not reality.

2.1.3.3 Anastasius Sinaita, *Hodegos* 13 (ca. late 7th c.; Sinai; PG 89:229C) lists as "false and rejected" (ψευδῇ καὶ ἀπόβλητα) τὰ λεγόμενα παιδικὰ θαύματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ("the so-called marvelous childhood deeds of Christ").

2.1.3.4 Muhammad, *Qur'an* 3:49 (see also 5:111) (between 611 and 632; Arabia; translated from Arabic by Arberry):³

³ Additional Muslim childhood stories of Jesus (including variants of *Jesus and the Dyer*, *Jesus Turns Jewish Children into Swine*, *Ga* 6/14, and *Ga* 9) are discussed in Samuel M. Zwemer, *The Moslem Christ: An Essay on the Life, Character, and Teachings of Jesus Christ according to the Koran and Orthodox Tradition* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson

And he will teach him the Book, the Wisdom, the Torah, the Gospel, to be a Messenger to the Children of Israel saying, "I have come to you with a sign from your Lord. I will create for you out of clay as the likeness of a bird; then I will breathe into it, and it will be a bird, by the leave of God" (cf. *Ga* 2).

2.1.3.5 Georgius Syncellus, *Chronographia* a. 5505 (between the 8th and 9th c.; Constantinople; text: Dindorf):

Ἰστέον ὅτι διάφορα εὐαγγέλια γέγραπται, ἐξ ὧν τέσσαρα μόνα κέκριται τοῖς μακαρίοις ἀποστόλοις ἐκκλησιάζεσθαι, καὶ ἄλλοις παιδικὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν συγγέγραπται, ἐν οἷς αἱ μέχρι δωδεκαετοῦς χρόνου τῆς κατὰ σάρκα ἡλικίας αὐτοῦ τούτων αἰώνων ποιητοῦ ἐμπεριφέρονται θαυματουργαίαι.

Know that various gospels have been written, of which four alone have been judged by the apostles to be admissible by the Church, and childhood stories of our Saviour have been composed, in which there are brought into account the miracles up to the twelfth year of age according to the flesh of the Creator of these ages.

2.1.3.6 *Sefer Toledoth Yeshu* chs. 4–5 (9th c.; Palestine; text: translated from the Strasbourg University Library Hebrew MS by Krauss).⁴ The text features a vague parallel to the *Teacher* stories in an episode in which the boy Jesus walks in front of the Sages with his head uncovered. He then gives an impudent interpretation of the law and in an ensuing debate he claims Moses could not be the greatest of prophets if he had to receive counsel from Jethro. Later, the adult Jesus is in Upper Galilee proclaiming himself Son of God and proving his power by using the name of God:

Die Leute von Galilaea machten Vögel aus Lehm, er sprach die Buchstaben des erklärten Namens aus, da flogen die Vögel auf (cf. *Ga* 2).

2.1.3.7 Euthymius Zigabenus, *In Joannem* 2.11 (fl. ca. 1100; Constantinople; *PG* 129:1153B):

ὥς παρασιωπηθὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἰστόρησεν αὐτό, χρησιμεῦον εἰς τὸ μὴ πιστεῦειν τοῖς λεγομένοις Παιδικαῖς θαύμασι τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

& Ferrier, 1912), 59–76 and James Robson, "Stories of Jesus and Mary," *Muslim World* 40 (1950): 236–43.

⁴ S. Krauss, *Das Leben Jesu nach jüdischen Quellen* (1902; repr., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1977), 50–62.

because [the Cana miracle] had been passed over in silence by others, he gave this account as being useful to the end of not putting our trust in the so-called childhood miracles of Christ.

2.1.4 Early Testimony to the “Gospel of Thomas”

2.1.4.1 Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5.7.20 (222–235; Rome; text: Wendland):

Οὐ μόνον <δ’> αὐτῶν ἐπιμαρτυρεῖν φασὶ τῷ λόγῳ τὰ Ἀσσυρίων μυστήρια καὶ Φρυγῶν <ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ Αἰγυπτίων> περὶ τὴν τῶν γεγονότων καὶ γινομένων καὶ ἐσομένων ἐτι μακαρίαν κρυβομένην ὁμοῦ καὶ φανερούμενην φύσιν, ἣν περ φησὶ <τὴν> ἐντὸς ἀνθρώπου βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν ζητούμενην, περὶ ἧς διαρρήδην ἐν τῷ κατὰ Θωμᾶν ἐπιγραφομένῳ εὐαγγελίῳ παραδιδόασιν λέγοντες οὕτως· ἐμὲ ὁ ζητῶν εὕρήσει ἐν παιδίῳ ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῳ αἰῶνι κρυβόμενος φανερούμαι.

They (the Naassenes) say that not only the mysteries of the Assyrians and the Phrygians, but also those of the Egyptians support their account of the blessed nature of the things which were, are, and are yet to be, a nature which is both hidden and revealed at the same time, and which he calls the sought-for kingdom of heaven which is within the human. They transmit a tradition concerning this in the Gospel entitled According to Thomas, which states expressly, “the one who seeks me will find me in children from seven years of age and onwards. For there, hiding in the fourteenth aeon, I am revealed” (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 4).

2.1.4.2 The following early writers list a “Gospel of Thomas” in their discussions of spurious texts:⁵ Origen, *Homiliae in Lucam* 1 (233 C.E.); Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.25.6 (early 4th c.); Jerome, *Commentariorum in Matthaeum* Prologue (late 4th c.; *PL* 26:17A)—and after Jerome by Ambrose, *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam* 1.2 (late 4th c.; text: Schenkl, p. 10–11); and the Venerable Bede, *In Lucae evangelii expositio* 1, Prologue (late 7th/early 8th c.; *PL* 92:307C)—Philip of Side, a fragment of his history

⁵ Listed in Harrold Attridge, “The Greek Fragments: Introduction,” in *Nag Hammadi Codex II*, 2–7 (ed. Bentley Layton; 2 vols.; NHS 20; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989), 1:95–112.

(text: de Boor, *Abfassungszeit der Schriften Tertullians*, 169, no. 4; ca. 430); Ps.-Athanasius, *Synopsis* (5th c.; PG 28:432B); *Stichometry of Nicephorous* (9th c.; text: Dindorf, *Georgius Syncellus et Nicephorus*, 735–38) lists a “Gospel of Thomas” of 1300 lines. A second set of writers identify the Manicheans (some add specifically Mani’s disciple Thomas) as the originators of the “Gospel of Thomas”: Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechesis* 4.36 (PG 33:500), 6.31 (PG 33:593) (ca. 348); *Decretum Gelasianum* (4th c.?, text: Dobschütz); Ps.-Leontius of Byzantium (Theodore of Raithu), *De sectis* 3.2 (late 6th c.; PG 86/1:1213C); Timothy of Constantinople, *Haer.* (late 6th c.; PG 86/1:21C); *Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea* 6.5 (787; text: Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova*, 13:293B); Peter of Sicily, *Historia Manichaeorum* 16 (9th or 11th c.; PG 104:1265C); Ps.-Photius, *Contra Manichaeos* 1.14 (11th c.; PG 102:41B). Finally, Innocent I, *Epistula 6 ad exsuperio episcopo Tolosane* 7 (r. 402–17; PL 20:501A) rejects books “sub nomine Thomae”

2.2 IGT Rediscovered: 1675–1852.

IGT scholarship began with the rediscovery of the text after the Renaissance. This was a time when scholars searched out noncanonical MSS principally to serve polemical interests. On one side, the texts were used to trace the origins of certain dogmas. Along the way, claims often were made for the great antiquity of some apocryphal material, sometimes even for their primacy over the NT gospels. On the other side, dissenting scholars affirmed the superiority of the canonical texts by pointing out the often-

disturbing contents of the NT Apocrypha. It was a dynamic age and one in which IGT figured prominently.

Gospels attributed to the apostle Thomas have been discussed in Christian literature since the second century. However, biblical scholars did not get their first look at one of these texts until the seventeenth century. In a 1675 catalogue of Viennese MSS, Peter Lambeck excerpted several lines of IGT from a Greek MS (*Phil. Gr* 162 [144]; 15th c.; =O).⁶ Lambeck revealed that the MS is mutilated and torn, and provided IGT's title and much of the first two chapters. His comments on the text itself were disparaging. Citing Chrysostom and Epiphanius (see 2.1.2.3–4 above), he remarked that the text was rightly rejected, for according to the NT gospels Jesus performed no miracles before his baptism. Lambeck also mentioned a second copy "eiusdem libri" in a Paris MS (Bibliothèque nationale, *Ancien fond grec* 239 [2908 2279]; 15th c.; =P) noted earlier in Philippe Labbé's *Nova Bibliotheca Manuscriptorum Librorum*.⁷ No further details of this MS were provided. Shortly after Lambeck's discovery, the pages featuring IGT were removed from the Vienna MS and have never been recovered. Lambeck's colleague A. F. Kollár revealed that the MS was complete prior to its use by Jacob Tollius⁸ who mentioned the MS in a 1697 study of the NT Apocrypha. In it Tollius made passing

⁶ Peter Lambeck, *Commentariorum de augusta bibliotheca caesarea vindobonensi* (8 vols; Vienna: Typis M. Cosmerovii, 1665–1679), 7:270–73.

⁷ The MS details are said to be found on p. 306 of Labbé's text but attempts to verify Lambeck's reference have met no success.

⁸ See Ioannis Caroli Thilo, *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti* (Lipsius: Vogel, 1832), lxxv; Tischendorf, *EA*², xliii.

reference to IGT and added to the discussion some similar childhood tales from German folklore.⁹ Since Tollius all that remains of *O* is Lambeck's excerpt.

Fortunately, scholars did not have to wait very long for the publication of a more substantial portion of the text. Richard Simon's *Nouvelles observations sur le texte et les versions du Nouveau Testament* from 1695 begins with an overview of the early testimonies to NT apocryphal writings.¹⁰ When mentioning texts attributed to the apostle Thomas, Simon provided the title and chs. 1 and 6 of the Paris MS known to Labbé. His brief discussion of the text anticipated the parameters of the debate on IGT for the next two-and-a-half centuries—namely, its connection to Gnosticism (through Irenaeus' association of *Jesus and the Teacher* with the Marcosians; see above 2.1.2.1) and/or Manicheism (through Cyril of Jerusalem, Peter of Sicily, and Timothy of Constantinople; see above 2.1.4.2). For his part, Simon concluded that IGT was composed by the Marcosians and that the Manichean "Gospel of Thomas" is really *Acts Thom*. The entire text of *P* finally saw publication three years later in a footnote to Jean Baptiste Cotelier's second edition of the *Apostolic Constitutions*.¹¹ The fragmentary MS was revealed to contain *Ga* 1–6 and the beginning of the story of *Jesus and the Dyer*.

⁹ Jacob Tollius, *Monatliche Unterredungen einiger Guten Freunde von allerhand Büchern und andern annehmlichen Geschichten*, July (ed. W. E. Tentzel; Leipzig: T. Fritsch, 1697), 539–54.

¹⁰ See Richard Simon, *Nouvelles observations sur le texte et les versions du Nouveau Testament* (1695; repr., Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1973), 5–9. Simon mentioned the title of IGT from the Paris MS a few years earlier in a discussion of apocryphal books known to John Chrysostom (*Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouveau Testament* [1693; repr., Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1969], 194).

¹¹ Jean Baptiste Cotelier, *SS. Patrum qui temporibus apostolicis floruerunt* (2 vols.; 2d ed.; Antwerp: Huguetanorum sumtibus, 1698), 1:345–346. After Cotelier, the MS was mentioned briefly by Domni Renati Massuet in his 1710 edition of Irenaeus (*Detectionis*

Cotelier's MS would have looked very familiar to those who closely followed the steady publication of the noncanonical gospels. Its stories had been published a year earlier in Henry Sike's edition of *Arab. Gos. Inf.*¹² This text, ultimately derived from the Syriac translation of IGT, features all of the stories found in the Paris MS and more. The enduring value of Sike's work for IGT lies in his notes on the later treatment of the childhood tales in Arabic literature, a topic to which few scholars returned over the following centuries. A few IGT episodes (*Ga* 6, 9 and 13) also found their way into Jean Chardin's *Voyages en Perse*.¹³ The multi-volume work, published between 1686 and 1711, excerpts childhood tales of Jesus told to Chardin by Armenian Christians. These tales likely derive from *Arm. Gos. Inf.*, a text that would not be published in the West until 1914.

IGT soon reached a broad audience through its inclusion in the first critical edition of the NT Apocrypha: Johann Fabricius' *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti* from 1703.¹⁴ Though no new MSS had been found to collate against *P*, Fabricius advanced the study of IGT in several ways: he divided the text into chapters and verses, compared *P* with readings from Lambeck's excerpts, translated the text into Latin, and

et eversiones: falso cognominate agnitionis;... [Paris: Typis & Sumptibus Joannis Baptiste Coïgnard], 91).

¹² Henry Sike, *Evangelium Infantiae; vel, Liber Apocryphus de Infantia Salvatoris; ex manuscripto edidit, ac Latina versione et notis illustravit Henricus Sike* (Trajecti ad Rhenum: Halman, 1697).

¹³ The tales are reported in vol. 9 p. 124 and vol. 10 p. 26 of Chardin's 1811 edition. They can be seen more readily in Rudolph A. Hofmann, *Das Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen im Zusammenhang aus den Quellen erzählt und wissenschaftlich untersucht* (Leipzig: Friedrich Voigt, 1851), 219, 249.

¹⁴ Johann Albert Fabricius, *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti* (2 vols.; Hamburg: Schiller, 1703), 1:128–58 (introduction), 1:159–67 (Greek text and Latin translation with notes).

prefaced his edition with a comprehensive collection of ancient testimonies and notes by previous scholars. Fabricius' text was widely reprinted and translated, first into English by Jeremiah Jones (1726),¹⁵ then French by Voltaire (1769),¹⁶ and German by J. G. Bartholmä (1832).¹⁷ Debate on IGT's origins then began in earnest with Isaac de Beausobre arguing for a Marcosian (via Jewish-Christian gnostic) composition¹⁸ and Nathaniel Lardner and Antonio Georgi for Manichean origin.¹⁹ Georgi's work is particularly notable, not for its erudition, but for inspiring G. L. Mingarelli to search for new MSS of the text in order to prove the details, though not the core, of Georgi's argument wrong. In a letter to Thom. August. Ricchinum published in 1764, Mingarelli dismissed de Beausobre's position, and used a new MS from Bologna (Biblioteca

¹⁵ Jeremiah Jones, *A New and Full Method of Settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament* (3 vols.; 1726; repr., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1827), 2:187–91 (Greek text and English translation). Jones' translation was later used by William Hone, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (4th ed.; London, 1820; repr., Philadelphia, Gebbie & Co., 1890), 60–62.

¹⁶ Voltaire (Simon Bigex), *Collection d'anciens Évangiles, ou monuments du premier siècle du christianisme, extraits de Fabricius, Grabius et autres savants* (Amsterdam: M. M. Rey, 1769), 101–6.

¹⁷ J. G. Bartholmä, *Die Apogryphen (sic) des neuen Testaments* (Dinkelsbühl, 1832), 1:52–54.

¹⁸ Isaac de Beausobre, *Histoire critique de manichée et du manichéisme* (Amsterdam: J. Frederic Bernard, 1734), 366–68. De Beausobre accounted for the Manichean citations by suggesting Timothy of Constantinople's identification of the text with the Manicheans is an error meant to refer to the Monophysites.

¹⁹ Nathaniel Lardner, *Credibility of the Gospel History*, repr. in vols. 1–4 of *The Works of Nathaniel Lardner* (London: Joseph Ogle Robinson, 42, Poultry, 1829), 3:435; Antonio Agostino Georgi, *Alphabetum Thibetanum* (1762; repr., Köln: Editiones Una Voce, 1987), 383–92. As part of his claim, Georgi believed the age of Jesus reported in *Ga* 2:1 should be seven (as in *Arab. Gos. Inf.* 26), an auspicious age in the biographies of Mani.

universitaria, *Univ.* 2702; 15th c.; =B) to correct Georgi.²⁰ This Bologna MS was scholars' first look at the now-standard 19-chapter version of IGT.

Mingarelli's discovery was fully integrated into text-critical work on IGT with Ioannis Caroli Thilo's *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti* in 1832.²¹ Here IGT was presented using *B* as its base and with variant readings from the Paris and Vienna MSS (the latter via Lambeck's excerpt) as well as a new discovery from Dresden (Sächsische Landesbibliothek, *A* 187; 16th c.; =D). This last MS is a virtual twin of *B* but it lacks many of *B*'s errors and omissions. Thilo provided also a detailed introduction to the text adding to Fabricius' list of testimonies several medieval references to τὰ παιδικὰ κυρίου, a text identified by Thilo with both IGT and the "Gospel of Thomas" of the testimonies.²²

Thilo's collection quickly became standard for the study of all the noncanonical gospels; his texts formed the basis of a number of translations, and provided the raw material for polemical discussion on the "value" of these texts. The translations—one in French by Pierre Gustav Brunet (1848),²³ one in English by J. A. Giles (1852),²⁴ and two

²⁰ G. L. Mingarelli, "De Apocrypho Thomae Evangelio...epistola," in *Nuova Raccolta d'opuscoli scientifici e filologici* (ed. A. Calogiera; Venice, 1764), 12:73–155. Mingarelli's published letter could not be obtained for examination. The discussion here is based on the summary in Thilo, *Codex Apocryphus*, lxxv–vii.

²¹ Thilo, *Codex Apocryphus*, lxxiii–xci (introduction), 277–315 (text with Latin translation and notes).

²² *Ibid.*, lxxix–lxxxviii.

²³ Pierre Gustav Brunet, *Les évangiles apocryphes: Traduits et annotés d'après l'édition de J. C. Thilo* (Paris: Franck, 1848), 139–40 (introduction), 141–54 (French text).

²⁴ J. A. Giles, *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti: The Uncanonical Gospels and Other Writings* (London: D. Nutt, 1852), 48–56.

in German by Richard Clemens (1850)²⁵ and Karl Friedrich Borberg (1841),²⁶ the latter with detailed notes and commentary—added very little to the study of IGT beyond further speculation about its connection to the ancient testimonies. But the greater accessibility of the text provided by these translations allowed for its controversial contents to be seen by writers eager to denigrate the NT Apocrypha.²⁷ Andrews Norton, for example, cited both IGT and *Arab. Gos. Inf.* when insisting that the noncanonical texts make no attempt to contradict the NT gospel accounts of Jesus. “Both works,” he wrote, “imply a very low state of intellect and morals in those by whom and for whom they were written.”²⁸ Joseph Pons was no less harsh in his assessment. Comparing the features of the miracles found in the infancy gospels with those in the NT gospels, he found the apocryphal miracles to have neither the benevolence nor the modesty that

²⁵ Richard Clemens, *Die geheimgehaltenen oder sogenannten Apokryphen Evangelien* (Stuttgart: J. Scheible, 1850), 59–88.

²⁶ Karl Friedrich Borberg, *Bibliothek der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen, gesammelt, übersetzt, und erläutert* (Stuttgart: Literatur-Comptoir, 1841), 61–65 (introduction), 66–84 (German text).

²⁷ Key monographs in the debate include: Carolus Immanuel Nitzsch, *De apocryphorum evangeliorum in explicandis canonicis usu et abusu* (Vitebergae: Fribericus Immanuel Seibt, 1808) and Fridericus Julius Arens, *De Evangeliorum apocryphorum in canonicis usu historico, critico, exegetico* (Göttingen: Typis Dieterichianis, 1835). Anton Tapphorn’s *Ausserbiblische Nachrichten oder die Apokryphen über die Geburt, Kindheit und das Lebensende Jesu und Mariä* (Münster: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1885) is a later example of this scholarship. Of course none of the defenders of the NT Apocrypha saw in IGT much for filling in historical details in the Jesus story. Nitzsch, for example, never mentioned the text, and both Arens and Tapphorn discussed it only in passing, and even then only to illustrate the superiority of the more modest miracles found in the canonical gospels (see Arens, *De Evangeliorum apocryphorum*, 37; Tapphorn, *Ausserbiblische Nachrichten*, 33).

²⁸ Andrews Norton, *The Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels* (9th abridged ed.; 1848; Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1890), 375.

characterizes the wonders performed by the adult Jesus.²⁹ In the course of his argument he excerpted several cursing episodes from IGT (*Ga* 3, 4 and 6). These stories led to his characterization of the text as “le plus extraordinaire” of the childhood gospels, and its miracles as “bizarres et parfois méchants.”³⁰ In addition, the Jesus of the NT, he stated, cannot be recognized in these stories.³¹ Similar sentiments were voiced by C. E. Stowe in his 1851 comparison of the noncanonical and canonical gospels.³²

Commentary of a much different flavour distinguishes J. A. Moehler’s 1843 study *La patrologie*³³ from these other works. Moehler suggested that IGT should be understood allegorically. The miracles, he wrote, are allegories of Jesus’ future intended to show that, just as his childhood enemies die, his future enemies will die spiritually. Moehler’s reading of the text is notable because it was the first assessment of IGT to set aside emotional and anachronistic assessments of the stories and to recognize in them a greater sophistication than the majority of scholars were willing to see. A century would pass before such receptivity was seen in the scholarship again.

Twenty years after the publication of Thilo’s edition a new NT Apocrypha collection was published that surpassed all of its predecessors. This collection, Constantin Tischendorf’s *Evangelia Apocrypha*, instantly became the key reference work

²⁹ Joseph Pons (de Négrépelisse), *Recherches sur les apocryphes du Nouveau Testament: Thèse historique et critique* (Montauban, 1850), 36–43.

³⁰ Ibid, 24. Pons’ disdain for the text was matched by de Beausobre, who called it “un misérable Roman” which “décrit un jeune Enfant violent & vindicatif” (*Histoire critique*, 366). Most other writers of this time were more reserved in their comments on the content of the text.

³¹ Pons, *Recherches*, 48.

³² C. E. Stowe, “The Four Gospels: State of the Question in 1851,” *JSL* Jan. (1866): 284–85, 297–98; see also idem *Origin and History of the Books of the Bible*, 206.

for all the noncanonical gospels, IGT included.³⁴ The superiority of *EA* lies in its wider and better selection of MSS, many of which were found during the author's travels. For IGT this meant a significant expansion in the number of witnesses to the text. Tischendorf's edition features four distinct versions of the gospel.³⁵ Greek A (*Ga*),³⁶ Thilo's 19-chapter form of the text (but based here on *D* not *B*); Greek B (*Gb*),³⁷ a shorter recension of the text based on a single fourteenth-/fifteenth-century Sinai MS (M. Ag. Ekaterines, *Cod. Sinaiticus Gr 453*; =S); a late Latin translation of IGT featuring a prologue of miracles performed during the young Jesus' stay in Egypt,³⁸ and a second

³³ J. A. Moehler, *La patrologie* (2 vols.; trans. Jean Cohen; Paris: Debécourt, 1843), 2:569–71.

³⁴ The second edition of *EA*, used for the present study, was published posthumously in 1876. It differs from the first edition in its incorporation of the "Additamenta" from Tischendorf's *Apocalypses Apocryphae* ([1866; repr., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1966], liii–lvi, xli), an update which features readings from Wright's Syriac text and a full collation of the Paris MS. *EA*² adds the translated excerpts from *SyrW* to the apparatus of *Ga* and readings from the *Ps.-Mt.* MS *B* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, *Gaddi 208*) and the mixed text of *Ps.-Mt.* MS *D* (Paris, Bib. nat., *lat. 1652*) to the apparatus of *Lt*.

³⁵ All of Tischendorf's new IGT MSS were first described in the appendix to his earlier work on the NT Apocrypha *De evangeliorum apocryphorum origine et usu* (The Hague: Thierry & Mensing, 1851, repr. in *Synopsis Evangelica* [Lipsiae: Avenarius & Mendelssohn, 1854]).

³⁶ Tischendorf, *EA*², 140–57.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 158–63. *Gb* first saw light five years earlier in Constantin Tischendorf, "Rechenschaft über meine handschriftlichen Studien auf meiner wissenschaftlichen Reise von 1840 bis 1844," in *Jahrbücher der Literatur* (Vienna: Carl Gerold Anzeigeblatt, 1846), 14:51–53. Soon after it was reprinted and used in Hofmann, *Das Leben Jesu*, xii–xiv. See also the discussion in Tischendorf's *De evangeliorum apocryphorum* (210–12).

³⁸ Tischendorf, *EA*², 164–80. The MS is not identified in *EA*² but it is likely the 14th-century *Vat. lat. 4578* and not, as P. Albert Siegmund (*Die Überlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur in der lateinischen Kirche bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert* [Munich: Filser-Verlag, 1949], 36) first claimed, *Vatican, Reg. lat. 648* (12/13th c.). In *De evangeliorum apocryphorum* (p. 213) Tischendorf mentioned a new *Ps.-Mt.* MS (*Vat. lat. 4578*) and then turned to discussing *Lt*, a text found "in eodem codice." Another MS of this text was excerpted in full a century earlier by J. R. Sinner,

Latin translation found in a fifth-century palimpsest (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *Vindobonensis* 563; =Lv).³⁹ This important early witness, which Tischendorf erroneously related to his late Latin version, is the ancestor of IGT material (=Lm) incorporated into some MSS of *Ps.-Mt.* This material also made its debut in *EA*.⁴⁰ Tischendorf's arrangement of the various IGT witnesses had an enduring effect on subsequent scholarship on the text. Indeed, all the editions and translations of IGT which followed were based either directly on Tischendorf's edition or on his selection of MSS. The collection's impact was even felt before its publication. Rudolph Hofmann was allowed use of Tischendorf's new material for his 1851 work *Das Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen*. This finely-detailed study is notable for its extensive discussion of parallels (Jewish, Buddhist, and Arabic) to the IGT episodes and its lengthy analysis of the troublesome letter speculation section of *Ga* 6:4.⁴¹ Tischendorf's own discussion of the text, on the other hand, did little more than reproduce his earlier notes from *De evangeliorum apocryphorum* in which he listed the MSS, reviewed previous scholarship, and speculated on the text's origins.⁴² One part of that earlier treatment, however, is conspicuously absent. In the 1851 book, the author provided a list of reasons for his

Catalogus Codicum MSS Bibliothecae Bernensis (3 vols; Berne: ex Officina typographica illustr. Republicae, 1760–1772), 1:245–58. Sinner's excerpt, however, does not include the Egyptian Prologue. This first publication of *Lt* has been totally neglected in IGT scholarship. Not even Tischendorf seems to have been aware of it.

³⁹ Tischendorf, *EA*², xlv–xlvii. Most of the text of *Lv* was previewed in *De evangeliorum apocryphorum*, 214–15.

⁴⁰ Tischendorf, *EA*², 93–112. *Ps.-Mt.* was published previously, though without the IGT appendix, by Thilo, *Codex Apocryphus*, 337–400. He believed the IGT material to be a secondary addition to the text and therefore chose not to include it in his edition.

⁴¹ Hofmann, *Das Leben Jesu*, 213–226

⁴² Tischendorf, *De evangeliorum apocryphorum*, 35–43 and 210–12; idem, *EA*², xxxvi–xlvi.

belief that *Gb* best represents the earliest form of IGT,⁴³ a position that precious few subsequent scholars would adopt, and one that even Tischendorf appears to have abandoned quickly.

Evangelia Apocrypha closes the first phase of scholarship on IGT. By the time of Tischendorf's edition the MS base for the text had grown considerably and work was beginning on determining the gospel's original form. The study of the text's contents, however, had progressed very little. Scholarship was stalled over the issue of which heretical group, the Marcosians or the Manicheans, composed the text. Scholars more favourable to the NT Apocrypha tended to argue for an early origin. Citing both the Irenaeus citation and Origen's mention of a "Gospel of Thomas," they placed the text among the Marcosians sometime prior to 180.⁴⁴ The more conservative scholars, on the other hand, favoured the testimony of Cyril of Jerusalem and advocated a theory of fourth-century composition by the followers of Mani.⁴⁵ All were in agreement, however, on the significance of one ancient citation in particular. The *Stichometry of Nicephorus* lists a "Gospel of Thomas" of 1300 lines (see above 2.1.4.2), which is far longer than either IGT or *Gos. Thom.* Using the stichometric information, the early scholars

⁴³ According to Tischendorf, *Gb* is to be preferred to *Ga* because it agrees better with the citations (it has $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ in the title, places the events in Nazareth, and its single *Teacher* episode reads closer to that of Irenaeus) and because it is more coherent (particularly in its clear separation of the two miracles of *Ga* 2 and 3). See *De evangeliorum apocryphorum*, 210–212.

⁴⁴ Simon, *Nouvelles observations*, 9; de Beausobre, *Histoire critique*, 366–68; Borberg, *Bibliothek der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, 62–63; Brunet, *Les évangiles apocryphes*, 139; Pons, *Recherches*, 25; Thilo, *Codex Apocryphus*, lxxxix; Tischendorf, *EA*², xlv–xlviii. These authors typically explained the Manichean "Gospel of Thomas" as a revision of IGT.

constructed an “expurgation theory” of IGT’s origins. Essentially, their position was that IGT was originally a much larger text later expurgated of most of the contents found offensive to orthodoxy.⁴⁶ Such confusion over the identification of the “Gospel of Thomas” known in antiquity continued into the subsequent stages of scholarship, interfering at many points with attempts at both reconstructing the original extent of the text and with identifying the context for its composition.

2.3 From Wright to Budge: Five Decades of Slow Progress.

The fifty years of scholarship which followed Tischendorf’s *EA* were a “dark age” for IGT. A few new MSS were discovered but otherwise little substantial progress was made on the study of the text. Only the question of origins saw any significant discussion, with connections between individual episodes and Hindu and Buddhist literature pulling the text to the East. The text as a whole, however, received little attention beyond the typical disparaging assessments. Scholars’ complacency may have been due to IGT’s failure to match the evidence of the citations. Instead of working with the available MS evidence, scholars preferred to wait for discoveries more representative of the ancient testimony. As it turned out, they waited in vain.

When discoveries did come, scholars were so distracted by the expectations of the expurgation theory that they failed to recognize the discoveries’ true importance. The

⁴⁵ See the discussion above regarding the views of Georgi, Lardner, and Mingarelli. Jones (*A New and Full Method*, 1:376) distinguished IGT from the “Gospel of Thomas,” believing the former to be a “forgery” composed long after the second century.

⁴⁶ See Tischendorf, *EA*², xlviii.

first of these new witnesses was published in 1865 by William Wright. He presented a sixth-century Syriac MS (London, *Br. Libr.*, *Add. 14484*; =*SyrW*)⁴⁷ which contains striking differences from the previously published versions. The introduction with its attribution to Thomas is lacking, as are *Ga* 10, 17 and 18. In general, the individual chapters are shorter, except for *Ga* 6 which is considerably expanded and approaches in places the texts of *Lt*, *Lv*, and *Lm*. Most significantly, the date of the MS makes *SyrW* the second earliest witness to the text after *Lv*. Unlike *Lv*, however, *SyrW* is far more complete. The antiquity alone of *SyrW* should have earned it a place of primary importance in the study of IGT. But that was not the case. Tischendorf's edition was so entrenched in the field that few scholars were ready to set it aside, particularly for a version in a language of which few scholars had a command. Furthermore, scholars were still convinced that IGT was originally much larger, so few saw any significance in the discovery of an early, shorter text form. That said, Wright's MS still was quickly assimilated into scholarship. Tischendorf, for his part, incorporated its readings into the apparatus of the second edition of *EA*. Many later editors followed suit.

The existence of a Syriac text inevitably bolstered theories of Syrian origin. The first scholar to advance such a theory was Michel Nicolas. In *Études sur les évangiles apocryphes*, published only a year after Wright, Nicolas outlined his belief that all the infancy gospels were written by Syrian Jewish-Christians.⁴⁸ As proof he listed the texts' esteem of James, certain geographical hints (e.g. playing on rooftops as in *Ga* 9), the affinities between IGT's letter speculation section and similar practices in Kabbalah, and

⁴⁷ William Wright, *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1865), 11–16 (Syriac text), 6–11 (English translation).

the popularity of the infancy gospels in the East.⁴⁹ Turning to IGT in particular, Nicolas saw evidence of Syriac composition in the text's attribution to Thomas⁵⁰ and the low quality of its Greek which, he claimed, owes itself to slavish translation from Syriac.⁵¹ Nicolas' study is most notable for its assessment of the literary background of the text. In a significant departure from previous discussions, Nicolas traced IGT's beginnings not to intellectual sects like the Marcosians or the Manicheans but to common people.⁵² Indifferent to crafting polemical statements about Jesus' origins or purpose, the commoners, he wrote, merely wanted to show that Jesus performed miracles in his infancy, "à croire que ce qui avait dû être, avait réellement été."⁵³ Nicolas expanded this hypothesis with a two-stage theory of IGT's composition. Identifying two types of stories in the gospel—those which portray Jesus as merely human with Joseph as his true father, and those which depict Jesus as superhuman—Nicolas claimed IGT is the product of a union between an early collection of Jewish-Christian tales and a group of docetic episodes added at a time when the community had embraced Gnosticism.⁵⁴

Many of Nicolas' ideas about IGT were revisited by Jean Variot in his comprehensive 1878 study *Les évangiles apocryphes*.⁵⁵ A Syrian origin was again postulated, though Variot was able to support his claim with Wright's Syriac text, a text

⁴⁸ Michel Nicolas, *Études sur les évangiles apocryphes* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1866).

⁴⁹ Ibid, 290–94.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 199.

⁵¹ Ibid, 331. Nicolas does not seem to have been aware, however, of Wright's publication of the Syriac MS.

⁵² Ibid, 295–99.

⁵³ Ibid, 266–67.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 333–35.

⁵⁵ Jean Variot, *Les évangiles apocryphes: Histoire littéraire, forme primitive, transformations* (Paris: Berche & Tralin, 1878).

which he felt demonstrated signs of an earlier tradition—it has fewer errors than the Greek and shows a concern for the Law (see *Gs* 6:4).⁵⁶ Like Nicolas too, Variot placed the origin of the text among commoners⁵⁷ and believed it once to have had affinities with the more innocent marvels found in hagiographical literature.⁵⁸ The petulant behaviour of Jesus now evident in IGT, he claimed, is due to Manichean redaction.⁵⁹ Variot noted also a connection between the childhood stories of Jesus and other tales of eminent Jewish figures; in both cases the stories are meant to foreshadow the subjects' adult careers.⁶⁰ Variot's discussion of IGT concluded with an indictment of German scholarship on the text. The author's Protestant peers were characterized as eager to attribute the origin of superhuman portrayals of Jesus to heretics.⁶¹ Both Variot's and Nicolas' views on IGT, radically different from those of the scholars who came before them, were due to a bold determination to move beyond the external evidence for the text and closely examine the internal evidence. Their views were also ahead of their time; a "popular" origin for IGT was not considered again until the work of Meyer in 1904, and affinities with Judaism have been reexamined only in the past few decades. Variot's and Nicolas' influence is most evident, however, in efforts to prove Syriac composition by later French scholars.

Of course, the attention paid to *SyrW* was not purely a preoccupation of French scholars. The text made an impact also on English writers as early as 1867 in the first edition of B. H. Cowper's *The Apocryphal Gospels*. Cowper's was the first NT

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 46–47.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 214–15.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 232–34.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 222.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 223–34.

Apocrypha collection to make a contribution to scholarship on IGT, however minor, since Tischendorf; its immediate predecessor, J.-P. Migne's *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes*,⁶² merely excerpted and summarized the work of earlier scholars, reprinted Brunet's French translation of Thilo's text, and presented the first French translation of *Lt*. Cowper, however, offered a discussion of the text, English translations of Tischendorf's *Ga*,⁶³ *Gb*, and *Lt*, and his own translation of *SyrW*, a text he believed important due to its antiquity and its agreements with *Lv*. Unfortunately, Cowper's introductory essay, heavily influenced by an earlier article by C. J. Ellicott,⁶⁴ is less than erudite. Writing shortly after Tischendorf's *EA*, Ellicott presented summaries of the noncanonical texts with the intention of introducing them to a popular audience. His delivery, however, is far from dispassionate. Ellicott believed the noncanonical gospels have no merit and are undeserving of the attention being paid to them in his day. IGT presented a prime target for his argument. "The miracle-mongering is so gross," he wrote, "and the dogmatical propensions of the writer are so obvious, that it may be reasonably doubted, whether, even at the time it appeared, it was regarded as a regular historical compilation at all."⁶⁵ Ellicott's assessment of the text was reproduced by Cowper who added further disparaging comments of his own. Some energy was spared, however, to make brief comments on IGT's origins. Cowper noted the text's allusions to

⁶² Jacques-Paul Migne, *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes* (2 vols; 1856; repr., Turnhout: Brepols, 1989), 1:1137–42 (introduction), 1:1141–56 (text).

⁶³ Cowper's *Ga* translation was later reprinted in B. Harris Cowper, trans., "The Gospel of Thomas," in *The Sacred Books and Early Literature of the East*, Vol. 14, *The Great Rejected Books of the Biblical Apocrypha* (ed. Charles F. Horne; New York, London: Park, Austin & Lipscomb, Inc., 1917), 253–60.

⁶⁴ Charles John Ellicott, "Apocryphal Gospels," in *Cambridge Essays* (4 vols; London: John W. Parker & Son, 1855–1858), 2:153–208.

the Gospel of John, speculating from these a connection to docetism, and through docetism to the possibility that IGT is the lost *Gospel of Basilides*.⁶⁶ Like Nicolas, Cowper believed IGT may have been composed in Syriac.⁶⁷ And lastly, Cowper suggested that the journey episodes unique to *Ps.-Mt.* once belonged to the original, longer version of IGT allegedly listed in the *Stichometry of Nicephorus*. Such extravagant claims did little to advance the study of IGT, but they were not unusual for an era in scholarship in which many heretical texts were known by little more than their titles. Faced with gaping holes in their knowledge, scholars rushed to fill in the details.

It is to Cowper also that we owe the publication of an accessible translation of an important ancient witness to the childhood stories. In 1866 he translated Titus Tobler's edition⁶⁸ of *The Pilgrimage of Antoninus of Placentia* (see above 2.1.3.1),⁶⁹ a text which features the pilgrim's descriptions of the synagogue where Jesus is said to have learned his letters (*Ga* 6, 14) and the field in *Jesus and the Miraculous Harvest* (*Ga* 12). The brief introduction to Cowper's translation makes no comment on the text's connections to IGT, a fact that may have contributed to its near-neglect in subsequent scholarship.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Ibid, 193.

⁶⁶ Cowper, *The Apocryphal Gospels*, lxx–lxxi.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 128; cf. lxxii.

⁶⁸ Titus Tobler, *De locis sanctis quae perambulavit Antoninus Martyr* (St. Gallen: Huber & Comp., 1863).

⁶⁹ B. Harris Cowper, trans., "The Pilgrimage of Antoninus of Placentia, AD 570," *JSL* Jan. (1866): 404–22. A second English translation, this time by Aubrey Stewart (*Of the Holy Places Visited by Antoninus Martyr* [ca. 560–570 AD] [London: Palestine Pilgrim's Society, 1887]), followed shortly after Cowper's. The most recent critical edition is that of Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Saeculi III–VIII*, 157–218.

⁷⁰ Only James DeQuincey Donehoo (*The Apocryphal and Legendary Life of Christ* [1903; repr., New York: Hodder & Stoughton, 1911], 118 n. 2) and Belarmino Bagatti ("Nota sul Vangelo di Tommaso Israelita," *Euntes Docete* 29 [1976]: 487) mention the text.

Extravagant theories about the origins of IGT did not cease with Cowper. Indeed, this period of scholarship saw the publication of several bizarre discussions of the childhood stories. The first of these was J. M. Cotterill's forgery theory. In his 1879 book *Peregrinus Proteus*,⁷¹ Cotterill claimed that a number of recently-recovered ancient texts, including *1 and 2 Clement*, the *Epistle to Diognetus*, and IGT, are all part of a fourteenth-century fabrication of manuscripts committed by Henry Stephens. The forgeries, he wrote, are an attempt at satire. According to the theory, IGT was written as a parody of verses from the OT, particularly the last three chapters of Ecclesiastes.⁷² Cotterill's OT parallels are extremely tenuous and amount to mere words or phrases. Cotterill, however, regarded them as a "network of coincidences." Not surprisingly, *Peregrinus Proteus* has received little notice in subsequent scholarship,⁷³ though it did inspire Charles Taylor to look for similar OT connections. In *The Oxyrhynchus Logia and the Apocryphal Gospels*, an 1899 study of the recently discovered but as yet unidentified fragments of *Gos. Thom.*, Taylor included a translation of *Gb* and a comparison of the *Gos. Thom.* fragments with both *Ga* and *Gb*.⁷⁴ He noted connections between log. 28 and 29 ("blind in their heart") and *Ga* 8/*Ps.-Mt.* 31, and between log. 30 and *Ga* 10/*Gb* 4. In the course of his argument Taylor acknowledged the same vague OT parallels as Cotterill. Taylor differed from his

⁷¹ J. M. Cotterill, *Peregrinus Proteus: An Investigation into Certain Relations Subsisting Between De Morte Peregrini, the Two Epistles of Clement to the Corinthians, the Epistle to Diognetus, the Bibliotheca of Photius, and Other Writings* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1879).

⁷² *Ibid.*, 39–45.

⁷³ James Moffatt ("Gospels [Uncanonical]," in *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church* [eds. J. Hastings, J. A. Selbie, and J. C. Lambert; 2 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1915–1918], 1:485) is the only scholar besides Taylor who discussed the book, albeit not with favour.

predecessor, however, in believing the verses to have inspired an *ancient* author, not a fourteenth-century counterfeiter.

Other than Cotterill, the most widely disregarded nineteenth-century IGT scholar has to be Ludwig Conrady. In the only lengthy study of the text to date, now almost a century old, Conrady advanced an elaborate theory that the IGT episodes are in fact allegories of the Horus myth.⁷⁵ If true, this connection would place the text's origins in Egypt. Unfortunately for Conrady, the few scholars who actually noted his work did so only to dismiss it as wayward and unconvincing. Conrady did, however, make an important point regarding the Indian parallels to the childhood stories. The author was one among many scholars influenced by the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* of the late nineteenth century⁷⁶ who saw in IGT an opportunity to add another to the growing

⁷⁴ Charles Taylor, *The Oxyrynchus Logia and the Apocryphal Gospels* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899), 85–99.

⁷⁵ Ludwig Conrady, "Das Thomasevangelium: Ein wissenschaftlicher kritischer Versuch," *TSK* 76 (1903): 377–459. For scathing critiques of Conrady's work see Otto Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* (4 vols.; 1912–1924; repr., Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1962), 1:533; Felix Haase, *Literarische Untersuchungen zur orientalistisch-apokryphen Evangelienliteratur* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913), 47; Moffat, "Gospels (Uncanonical)," 486; and A. Meyer, "Kindheitserzählung des Thomas" ("Kindheitserzählung des Thomas¹"), in *Handbuch zu Neutestamentlichen apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung* (ed. Edgar Hennecke; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1904), 142. Conrady is most well known for claiming, along with Alfred Resch (*Das Kindheitsevangelium nach Lucas und Matthaeus unter Herbeziehung der aussercanonischen Paralleltexte* [Leipzig, 1897]), that the NT infancy narratives are based on a lost Hebrew source best represented by *Prot. Jas.* See further Ludwig Conrady, *Die Quelle der kanonischen Kindheitsgeschichte Jesus: Ein wissenschaftlicher Versuch* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900).

⁷⁶ Alfred Resche, *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien* (TUGAL 10.1–4; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1893–1896) is a noteworthy example of this scholarship. For a list of additional early scholarship see Johannes B. Aufhauser, *Buddha und Jesus in ihren Paralleltexten* (Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen 157; Bonn: A. Marcus & E. Webers Verlag, 1926), 2–7; for a brief overview of the issues see G. Rosenkranz, "Buddhismus und Christentum, geschichtlich," *RGK* 1:1484–85; and Zacharias P.

number of correspondences between canonical and noncanonical Jesus stories and tales of Krishna and the Buddha. Ernst Kuhn was the first to note a connection between the three episodes of *Jesus and the Teacher* (Ga 6, 14, 15) and a remarkably similar story in Buddhist literature (*Lalitavistara*, ch. 10).⁷⁷ The correspondences between the two were convincing enough for Kuhn to claim the author of IGT drew upon the Buddhist tale. Kuhn's claim soon was countered by E. von Dobschütz.⁷⁸ Noting the uncertainties behind the dating of the texts, von Dobschütz argued for independent generation of the stories. Later scholars who contributed to the discussion placed their support behind either Kuhn or Dobschütz, with Eysinga,⁷⁹ Garbe,⁸⁰ and Thundy⁸¹ siding with the former, and Bauer,⁸² Haase,⁸³ and Rosenkranz⁸⁴ with the latter. All of these scholars and the majority of subsequent commentators have used the Buddhist parallels to IGT to claim an eastern—i.e., Syrian—origin for the gospel. Conrady's particular contribution to the debate makes for an ideal corrective to this notion. In attempting to bolster his theory of Egyptian provenance, Conrady claimed the Indian stories reached the author of IGT along the trade

Thundy, *Buddha and Christ: Nativity Stories and Indian Traditions* (SHR 60; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993), 1–9.

⁷⁷ Ernst Kuhn, "Buddhistisches in den apokryphen Evangelien," in *Gurupujakaumudi: Festgabe, zum 50jährigen Doktorjubiläum A. Weber dargebracht von seinem Freunden und Schülern* (Leipzig: Otto Harassowitz, 1896), 116–19.

⁷⁸ Ernst von Dobschütz, review of *Gurupujakaumudi: Festgabe, zum 50jährigen Doktorjubiläum A. Weber dargebracht von seinem Freunden und Schülern*, TLZ 17 (1896): 442–45.

⁷⁹ G. A. van den Bergh van Eysinga, *Indische Einflüsse auf evangelische Erzählungen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1909), 81–84.

⁸⁰ Richard Garbe, *India and Christendom* (1914; repr., La Salle, Ill.: Open Court, 1959), 72–73.

⁸¹ Thundy, *Buddha and Christ*, 147.

⁸² Walter Bauer, *Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1909), 97.

⁸³ Haase, *Literarische Untersuchungen*, 47–48.

routes which met in the port city of Alexandria.⁸⁵ If Clement (*Strom.* 1.15) and Philo (*Abr.* 182; *Dreams* 2.56) were aware of Buddhist and Hindu beliefs, he reasoned, why not the author of IGT? Weak though Conrady's argument for Egyptian composition of IGT is, his point regarding the Indian parallels is worth noting. Clearly, proximity to India is not a requirement for oral or literary transmission of the shared childhood story motifs.

Another influential area of nineteenth-century NT scholarship in which IGT played a part was the effort to construct scholarly biographies of Jesus. Strauss, Farrar, and Renan⁸⁶ each made seminal contributions to this field, particularly in regard to determining what sources were relevant and reliable for reconstructing Jesus' life. Few noncanonical gospels, however, were included among them.⁸⁷ B. Pick noted this "gap in Jesus-literature"⁸⁸ in his 1903 English counterpart to Hofmann's *Das Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen*. Pick's excerpts of apocryphal stories certainly filled the gaps left by the other Jesus biographers, but Pick was no Hofmann. Both the 1903 collection and his earlier work, *The Life of Jesus according to the Extra-Canonical Sources* published in

⁸⁴ Rosenkranz, "Buddhismus und Christentum," 1484.

⁸⁵ Conrady, "Das Thomasevangelium," 403–4.

⁸⁶ David Friedrich Strauss, *Das Leben Jesu: Kritisch bearbeitet* (2 vols.; Tübingen: C. F. Osiander, 1835–1836); Ernest Renan, *Vie de Jésus* (Paris: Levy, 1863); Frederic W. Farrar, *The Life of Christ* (New York: Hurst & Company, 1874).

⁸⁷ Farrar, for his part, recounted only the story of the *Children Who Make Jesus King* from *Arab. Gos. Inf.* 41 (*The Life of Christ*, 62–63). All other childhood tales were subjected to harsh condemnation, and he praised the NT infancy narratives both for their silence on this period in Jesus' life and for their simplicity—if there was anything remarkable about Jesus' childhood, he wrote, the evangelists would have mentioned it.

⁸⁸ Bernhard Pick, *The Extra-Canonical Life of Christ, Being a Record of the Acts and Sayings of Jesus of Nazareth Drawn from Uninspired Sources* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1903), 5–6.

1887,⁸⁹ lack the copious notes which accompany the material in Hofmann's book. James DeQuincey Donehoo's similar treatment from 1903,⁹⁰ though somewhat short on academic rigour, follows closer Hofmann's model by drawing attention to non-textual evidence for the transmission of the childhood tales. Donehoo's notes refer to an Islamic legend that Jesus was a dyer, and reveal that the dyers of Persia honour Jesus as their patron—apparently, the dyer's shop is there called "Shop of Christ."⁹¹ Despite both Pick's and Donehoo's efforts, however, the two scholars were unable to deliver an English study of apocryphal Jesus traditions equal to Hofmann's work.

In the meantime, the turn of the nineteenth century saw another product of the intersection between the infancy gospels and the reconstructed life of Jesus: the forgery. In *L'Évangile de la jeunesse de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ d'après S. Pierre*, Catulle Mendès published a Latin text containing stories from *Prot. Jas.*, IGT (*Ga* 1, 4, 6, 9, 11, 13, 19), *Ps.-Mt.*, *Arab. Gos. Inf.*, and several additional tales.⁹² An English version by Henry Copley Greene followed in 1904.⁹³ The MS for the text was reportedly a medieval harmony discovered in the monastery of Saint Wolfgang in the Salzkammergut.⁹⁴ Echoes of phrases from Sike's Latin translation of *Arab. Gos. Inf.*,⁹⁵ however, proved it to be a

⁸⁹ Bernhard Pick, *The Life of Jesus according to the Extra-Canonical Sources* (New York: John B. Alden, 1887).

⁹⁰ Donehoo, *The Apocryphal and Legendary Life of Christ*.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 116 n. 1 and 2.

⁹² Catulle Mendès, *L'Évangile de la jeunesse de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ d'après S. Pierre* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1894).

⁹³ Henry Copley Greene, *The Gospel of the Childhood of our Lord Jesus Christ* (London: Burns & Oates, 1904).

⁹⁴ See Alice Meynell, introduction to Greene, *The Gospel of the Childhood*, 13–21.

⁹⁵ See the discussion in M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (1924; repr., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), 89. Greene's and Mendès' books were discussed also by James H. Charlesworth ("Research on the New Testament Apocrypha and

composition of the Renaissance, not medieval times. Another harmony, published at a slightly later time but relevant to the present discussion, is Will Hayes' *The Gospel According to Thomas* (1921).⁹⁶ Unlike Mendès and Greene, however, Hayes made no claims of antiquity for his gospel; it is merely a modern NT gospel harmony shorn of the texts' supernatural aspects (i.e., without the infancy and resurrection narratives). Hayes' book is worth mentioning only because its choice of Thomas as the harmony's "author" (perhaps due to the apostle's reputation as a skeptic) led several unwitting writers to list the book under IGT scholarship when it quite intentionally contains no childhood material whatsoever.⁹⁷

Though much of the scholarship on IGT in the late nineteenth-century can be characterized legitimately as eccentric, three scholars closed this period on a high point with some important discoveries. The first of these was merely the mention of a new Greek MS. In the 1890 supplement to *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, R. A. Lipsius included a brief note about an unpublished MS from Mount Athos (*Cod. Vatopedi* 37; 14th c.; =V) which, according to his report, includes the

Pseudepigrapha," *ANRW* 2.25.2 [1988]: 3930 n. 17), Per Beskow (*Strange Tales about Jesus: A Survey of Unfamiliar Gospels* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983], 6), and Edgar J. Goodspeed (*Strange New Gospels* [Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1931], 97–98).

⁹⁶ Will Hayes, *The Gospel According to Thomas* (London: C. W. Daniel, Ltd. 1921).

⁹⁷ See the bibliographies of Marka Starowieysky, *Apokryfy Nowego Testamentu*, Vol. 1: *Ewangelię apokryficzne* (2 vols; Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1980), 1:674; Fridericus Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum Medii Aevi* (11 vols.; Madrid, 1950–1961), 1:147; Oscar Cullmann, "Infancy Gospels" (= "Infancy Gospels¹"), in *New Testament Apocrypha*, Vol. 1, *Gospels and Related Writings* (eds. Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher; trans. R. McL. Wilson; 3d ed.; London: Lutterworth Press, 1963), 390; de Santos, *Los Evangelios Apócrifos*³, 284; Mario Erbetta, *Gli apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento* (2 vols.; Italy: Marietti, 1975–1981), 1.2:78; James H. Charlesworth, *The New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha: A*

additional material from *Ga* 6 paralleled in *SyrW*, *Lt*, and *Lm*.⁹⁸ The details of Lipsius' discovery have been repeated often in subsequent scholarship,⁹⁹ but the MS, though clearly important for the Greek tradition of the text, has not been published before now. Fortunately, such hesitancy did not impair the publication of the second IGT-related breakthrough of the time: *The Gospel of Bartholomew*. The text, published from a Greek MS of Vienna by A. Vassiliev in 1893,¹⁰⁰ features another version of *Jesus and the Sparrows* (*Ga* 2; *Gos. Bart.* 2:11; see above 2.1.1.3). The third, and most significant, discovery to note is E. A. W. Budge's 1899 publication of an additional Syriac source.¹⁰¹ Budge found much of IGT embedded in a MS of *The Life of Mary* (from Alqoṣ; 13/14th c.; =*SyrB*), a compilation of various noncanonical texts that prominently feature stories of Jesus' mother. Along with IGT, the MS contains childhood tales featured also in *Arab. Gos. Inf.* It is quite likely, therefore, that *SyrB* is a text one step closer to *Arab. Gos. Inf.*'s long-suspected Syriac original.

These few discoveries, along with *SyrW*, were but a small ray of light in an otherwise dark five-decade period of investigation into IGT. New NT Apocrypha

Guide to Publications, with Excurses on Apocalypses (Chicago: American Theological Library Association, 1987), 405.

⁹⁸ Richard Adelbert Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden* (2 vols.; 1883–1890; repr., Amsterdam: APA-Philo Press, 1976), *Ergänzungsband*, 24.

⁹⁹ In this period by Harnack, *Geschichte*, 1:17; Conrady, "Das Thomasevangelium," 379; and Meyer, "Kindheitserzählung des Thomas¹," 133.

¹⁰⁰ A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina I* (Moscow: Universtitatis Caesareae, 1893), vii–xii, 10–22. Additional Greek, Latin and Slavic MSS soon followed. For further details see J. -D. Kaestli and P. Cherix, *L'Évangile de Barthélemy d'après deux écrits apocryphes. I. Questions de Barthélemy; II. Livre de la Résurrection de Jésus-Christ par l'apôtre Barthélemy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), 29–37.

¹⁰¹ E. A. Wallis Budge, *The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the History of the Likeness of Christ* (2 vols.; London: Luzac & Co., 1899), 2:71–82 (IGT material in

collections came and went, offering, for the most part, the text(s) of Tischendorf combined with unrestrained, judgmental assessments of the contents.¹⁰² And the period's numerous dictionary articles,¹⁰³ essays,¹⁰⁴ and overviews of early Christian literature did little more than summarize the conclusions of the Apocrypha collections. The expurgation theory continued to carry weight, despite the more peculiar hypotheses suggested by Nicolas and Cotterill and the mounting evidence for a shorter, early recension. Questions were raised on IGT's origins, with Indian parallels, the Syriac MSS, and hints of Jewish-Christian composition leading many to consider Syrian provenance. Again, gnostic composition generally was assumed but Nicolas' and Variot's suggestions regarding the shaping of the text among common folk, in hindsight, is a theory that better

English), 1:67–76 (in Syriac). Budge also reprinted the Syriac text of *SyrW* for comparison (1:217–222).

¹⁰² A. Walker, *Apocryphal Gospels, Acts and Revelations* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1870); ix–x (intro), 78–99 (text); repr. in *ANF* 16:78–99; James Orr, *New Testament Apocryphal Writings* (London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1903), 21–31.

¹⁰³ F. K. Movers, "Apokryphe (écrit)," in *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la théologie catholique* (ed. Heinrich J. Wetzer; 26 vols.; Paris: Gaume freres, 1868–1869), 1:434; F. K. Movers and F. Kaulen, "Apokryphen und Apokryphen-Literatur," in *Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexicon oder Encyclopädie der katholischen Theologie und ihrer Hilfswissenschaften* (ed. Heinrich J. Wetzer; 12 vols; 2d ed.; Freiburg: Herder, 1882–1891), 1:1073; Rudolph A. Hofmann, "Apokryphen des Neuen Testaments," *RE* 1:657; J. G. Tasker, "Apocryphal Gospels," in *Dictionary of the Bible* (ed. James Hastings; 5 vols.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901–1904), 5:431–33. An article by Richard Adelbert Lipsius ("Gospels Apocryphal," *DCB* 2:703–5) is noteworthy for its detail; nevertheless, it added nothing new to the study of the text.

¹⁰⁴ Stowe, *Origin*, 206; B. F. Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels* (1881; American ed.; New York: Macmillan & Co., 1887), 455–56; Theodor Zahn, *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons* (2 vols.; Erlangen und Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1899–1892), 2: 768–73; Heinrich J. Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Freiburg: J. C. B. Mohr, 1892), 491; Charles Thomas Cruttwell, *A Literary History of Early Christianity* (2 vols.; 1893; repr., New York: AMS Press, 1971), 1:173; Johannes Evangelist Belser, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Frieburg: Herder, 1905), 830–34. The most detailed survey of the evidence and issues was that of Harnack (*Geschichte*, 1:15–17, 2:592–95).

fits the evidence. As overlooked as the work of these two French scholars has been, it was their ideas which were adopted by some of the leading scholars on the text when IGT scholarship moved into the twentieth century.

2.4 Meyer to James: New Sources, New Theories.

The first quarter of the twentieth century saw several important and influential studies on IGT, as well as a number of new MS discoveries. The literary remains of the gospel were growing increasingly complex. Nevertheless, several scholars of this period confronted the evidence resolute in their determination to make a contribution to solving the mysteries of IGT's origin and transmission.

The first of these significant contributions came in 1904 with the publication of Edgar Hennecke's two volumes: *Neutestamentlichen Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, and the more comprehensive *Handbuch zu Neutestamentlichen Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*. Both featured discussions of IGT by A. Meyer.¹⁰⁵ Building on the discoveries and theories of Tischendorf, Wright, Nicolas, Variot, and the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, Meyer contributed a comprehensive theory of composition for IGT which combined the best ideas of his predecessors. At its earliest stage of development, Meyer stated, IGT was not a gnostic or docetic text but a collection of folk tales similar to the stories told of Krishna and Buddha. Gnostics, having contact with Oriental thought, found these tales attractive for their purposes and added to

them speculative material, much of which was later removed by orthodox redactors. This shortening of IGT was performed rather crudely, leaving a text with three variants of the same story (*Jesus and the Teacher* in *Ga* 6, 14 and 15). In a second major departure from previous scholars, Meyer praised the gospel for its charming portrayal of everyday life. As for text-critical problems, Meyer treated these in some detail in the more comprehensive *Handbuch*. Here the author noted the correspondences between the Latin and Syriac traditions, professed their superiority over the Greek MSS, and concluded that the original text, “ohne Zweifel,” stood nearer to these translations.¹⁰⁶ Meyer’s support of the versions is apparent in his text which generally follows *Ga* but adds the Syriac and Latin translations in parallel columns where Meyer believed *Ga* to be deficient (*Ga* 5–8). In addition, Meyer brought attention to a further non-Christian parallel to *Jesus and the Sparrows* (*Ga* 2): a story in which the Egyptian high priest Neneferkaptah animates clay models using magic words.¹⁰⁷

Meyer’s work on IGT had significant impact on subsequent scholarship. The first study to reflect this influence was Walter Bauer’s *Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*. This 1909 monograph provided the kind of detailed discussion of the apocryphal Jesus material that was lacking in Pick’s and Donehoo’s books. Unlike his predecessors, Bauer eschewed lengthy excerpts in favour of comprehensive analysis of how the noncanonical texts both influenced and were

¹⁰⁵ See A. Meyer, “Kindheitserzählung des Thomas¹,” and idem, “Erzählung des Thomas,” in *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung* (ed. Edgar Hennecke; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1904), 63–67.

¹⁰⁶ Meyer, “Kindheitserzählung des Thomas¹,” 133.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 135. The tale is featured in Francis L. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900), 24.

influenced by the people and places with which they came into contact. Much of his discussion on IGT,¹⁰⁸ however, was little more than a presentation of the issues then surrounding the text—i.e., its relationship to the ancient testimonies, to the New Testament, to Gnosticism, and to stories from Egyptian and Indian legends.

Meyer's influence was reflected also in articles by James Moffatt and Felix Haase. Moffatt, for his part, contributed a considerably detailed encyclopedia article on the NT Apocrypha.¹⁰⁹ The section on IGT featured an extensive discussion of the known witnesses to the text with a synoptic chart of readings from chs. 4 and 5 of *Ga*, *Gb*, *Lt*, and *SyrW* to allow readers to make their own comparison of the various text forms. Like Meyer, Moffatt was restrained in his assessment of the gospel's content; indeed, in Moffatt's view, none of the noncanonical gospels should be evaluated according to modern moral or literary criteria: "their ends and motives," he wrote, "however little they may appeal to a modern mind, were not always perverse."¹¹⁰ He also exhibited great caution in refusing to assign all citations of the "Gospel of Thomas" to IGT, and saw little in the text that supports gnostic or docetic interests. Both Moffatt's and Meyer's efforts at examining IGT in all its known forms were surpassed by Felix Haase's treatment of the text. In his 1913 study of the NT Apocrypha,¹¹¹ the author examined some key episodes in the gospel (*Ga* 3, 5) and considered directions of dependency between the various MSS. He concluded that the versions, shown to be narrowly connected to one another, are based not on *Ga*, but on a non-extant source. The

¹⁰⁸ Bauer, *Das Leben Jesu*, 87–100.

¹⁰⁹ Moffatt, "Gospels (Uncanonical)." The discussion on IGT is found on pp. 485–88.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 482.

¹¹¹ Haase, *Literarische Untersuchungen*, 38–48.

considerable variation between the known witnesses, he wrote, is due to numerous efforts at revision of an early compilation of tales ascribed to Thomas. The “Gospel of Thomas” listed in the *Stichometry*, he claimed, is one such expansion.¹¹² Haase’s conclusions, similar in some ways to those of Meyer and Moffatt, represented a subtle change in the widely held theory of expurgation. All three believed IGT to be originally a shorter and not clearly heretical text, but the need to integrate all of the evidence from the ancient testimonies, including the *Stichometry*, required them to allow for subsequent expansion (and then reduction for Meyer and Moffatt) of the corpus of tales. It was a creative solution to the problem that bid farewell to the expurgation-only theory of the nineteenth century and paved the way for the expansion-only theory that was to come.

But not every scholar agreed with Meyer and his forebears. Everything that was believed about IGT, from its original length to its original language to its date and place of composition, was challenged by Paul Peeters. In 1911 Peeters and his partner Charles Michel edited the first volume of the collection *Évangiles apocryphes*. It featured *Ga* in both Greek and French, and an unremarkable introduction by Michel which essentially presented the prevailing opinions on the text.¹¹³ But the introductory essay in the second volume from 1914 was something completely new.¹¹⁴ Here Peeters drew on several childhood texts—including *Arab. Gos. Inf.*, Budge’s *SyrB*, and a new seventeenth-century MS (*Vat. Syr. 159*; dated 1622/1623; =*SyrP*) featuring *Arab. Gos. Inf.* with IGT

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 46–47.

¹¹³ Charles Michel, “Évangile de Thomas,” in *Évangiles apocryphes* (2 vols; Textes et documents pour l’étude historique du Christianisme 13 and 18; Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1911 and 1914), 1:xxiii–xxxii (introduction), and 1:161–89 (text).

appended in Syriac—to propose an expansive Syro-Arabian theory of origin for the various infancy gospel traditions. This theory holds that all of the childhood stories found in these texts derive from a larger collection of legends assembled in Syriac in the fifth century. The IGT material, he claimed, was soon detached from the larger text and then translated into Greek to form *Ga* and *Gb*, and into Latin to form *Lv*, *Lm*, and *Lt*. An intermediate Greek text between the Latin and Syriac texts was considered a possibility by Peeters but not a necessity. This last ingredient of the theory in itself is difficult to swallow, and Peeters admitted the unlikelihood of such a transmission process, but the greatest weakness in his argument is his failure to offer any proof for his assertion of Syriac composition. He declared only that an inverse relationship from Greek to Syriac would not work.¹¹⁵ It is unfortunate also that Peeters did not provide the text of his new Syriac MS; he did, however, provide an excerpt of *Ga* 5–8, translated into French with notes on variant readings from *SyrW*, the Greek and Latin MSS, and an edition of four Slavonic MSS still largely unknown in the West at this time (see further below). Now almost a century since Peeters' work, the full text of *SyrP*, more complete than *SyrW*,¹¹⁶ remains unpublished. As for the question of IGT's language of composition, the majority of scholars still believe it to be Greek, but Peeters' Syro-Arabian theory continued to be

¹¹⁴ Paul Peeters, "Introduction," in *Évangiles apocryphes* (eds. Charles Michel and Paul Peeters; 2 vols.; Textes et documents pour l'étude historique du Christianisme, 13 and 18; Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1911 and 1914), 2:i–lix.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, xvii–xx. For an early critique of Peeters' theory see M. R. James, review of Charles Michel and Paul Peeters, *Évangiles apocryphes*, Vol. 2, *JTS* 16 (1915): 268–73.

¹¹⁶ Peeters revealed ("Introduction," xvi) that *SyrP* includes material from *Ga* 6–8 and 15 missing in *SyrW*.

entertained by French scholars for some time,¹¹⁷ and a Syriac original has been mentioned at least as a possibility by English, American, and German scholars.¹¹⁸

Along with *SyrP*, Michel and Peeters' second volume introduced Western readers to two additional sources for the reconstruction of IGT: a Georgian MS, and *Arm. Gos. Inf.* In the case of the Georgian MS (Tbilisi, *Cod. A 95*; 10th c.; =*Geo*), Peeters was made aware of the existence of the text from an 1897 summary by A. Khakhanov.¹¹⁹ The MS was later published in two independent editions, one in Georgian by K. Kekelidze in 1918 and the other in Russian by L. Melikset-Bek in a journal article dated 1917–1920.¹²⁰ IGT is found at the end of the Georgian MS which, unfortunately, ends prematurely after *Ga* 7. Peeters noted the existence of *Geo*¹²¹ but could not provide the text itself. Western scholars had to wait until Garitte's Latin translation of the text in 1956 for their first look

¹¹⁷ See Émile Amann, "Apocryphes du Nouveau Testament," *DBSup* 1:485–86; P. Saintyves, "De la nature des évangiles apocryphes et de leur valeur hagiographique," *RHR* 106 (1932): 436; Christian Bigaré, "L'achèvement des Écritures," in *Introduction à la Bible* (eds. Pierre Grelot and Christian Bigaré; 5 vols.; Tournai: Desclée, 1977), 5:195. C. H. Henkey ("Bible, Apocrypha of the New Testament," *NCE* 2:405) mentioned Peeters' work as a counter theory to second-century composition.

¹¹⁸ See Stephen Gero, "The Infancy Gospel of Thomas: A Study of the Textual and Literary Problems," *NovT* 13 (1971): 79; Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 69; Gerhard Schneider, *Apokryphe Kindheitsevangeliën* (New York: Herder, 1995), 38–9. M. R. James ("The Gospel of Thomas," *JTS* 30 [1928]: 54) hoped the recovery of additional lines from *Lv* would determine whether or not Peeters is correct.

¹¹⁹ A. Khakhanov, *Očerki po istorii gruzinskoi slovenosti* (Overview of the History of Georgian Literature) (Moscow, 1897), 2:319–21. For an overview of work by Russian scholars see the discussion in G. Garitte, "Le fragment géorgien de l'Évangile de Thomas," *RHE* 51 (1956): 513–15.

¹²⁰ K. Kekelidze, *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica, pars prima, Keimena*, Vol. 1, *Januarius, Februarius, Martius, Aprilis et Majus menses continens* (Tiflis, 1918), 115–17; L. Melikset-Bek, "Fragment gruzinskoi versii 'Djetsiva Hrista' (A Fragment of the Georgian Version of the 'Infancy of Christ')," *Hristianskii Vostok* 6.3 (1917–1920): 315–20.

¹²¹ Peeters, "Introduction," xix–xx.

at *Geo*.¹²² In the meantime, scholars had to content themselves with the several chapters of IGT (*Ga* 6, 9, 13 and *Jesus and the Dyer*) preserved in *Arm. Gos. Inf.*, a text which, along with *Geo*, may derive from a lost Armenian version of IGT.¹²³ Michel and Peeters' second volume contains a French translation of *Arm. Gos. Inf.* based on the two MSS used in the edition of E. Tayec'i,¹²⁴ as well as two additional MSS, and several fragments.¹²⁵ Peeters' text remains the only full translation of this lengthy gospel.

A third source for IGT known to Peeters,¹²⁶ the Slavonic family of MSS (*Sl*), had been noted in the West on two previous occasions.¹²⁷ In a brief survey essay from 1893 on Slavic Christian traditions, D. Bonwetsch listed two Serbian MSS:¹²⁸ *X* (Moscow, Russian State Historical Museum, *Xludov Cod. 162*) edited by A. Popov in 1872,¹²⁹ and *N* (*Sreckovic Cod. 637*, formerly in the Narodna Biblioteka in Belgrade but destroyed by

¹²² G. Garitte, "Le fragment géorgien," 516–20.

¹²³ So Voicu ("Verso," 18–19) against Peeters who believed that *Geo* was based on a Greek original ("Introduction," xx) and that *Arm. Gos. Inf.* derived from his putative fifth-century Syriac collection of tales (ibid, xxix–lvi).

¹²⁴ E. Tayec'i, *Ankanon girk' nor ktakaranac'* (Libri spurii Noui Testamenti) (2 vols.; Venetiis, 1898), 2:1–126 (recension A), 2:127–236 (recension B).

¹²⁵ Michel and Peeters, *Évangiles apocryphes* 2:69–286.

¹²⁶ Peeters, "Introduction," xviii–xix, 289.

¹²⁷ The following discussion draws upon the surveys of W. Lüdtkke ("Die slavischen Texte des Thomas-Evangeliums," *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbucher* 6 [1927]: 490–93) and Thomas Rosén (*The Slavonic Translation of the Apocryphal Infancy Gospel of Thomas* [Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Slavica Upsaliensia 39; Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1997], 19–45).

¹²⁸ D. Bonwetsch, "Die christliche vornicänische Literatur in altslavischen Handschriften," in *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (ed. Adolf Harnack; 2 vols.; 1893; repr., Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1958), 1.2:910.

¹²⁹ A. Popov, *An Account of Manuscripts and Catalogue of the Books of the Church Seal of the Library of A. I. Xludov* (in Russian) (Moscow, 1872), 320–25. For titles of this and other *Sl*-related books in their original languages see the bibliography in Rosén, *The Slavonic Translation*.

fire) by S. Novakovic in 1876.¹³⁰ A third *Sl* MS, the sixteenth-century Russian MS *S* (Moscow, Russian State Library, *Cod. 1253*), was mentioned around the same time in a similar article by Eugen Kozak.¹³¹ Neither Bonwetsch nor Kozak offered any excerpts from the MSS. The few readings provided by Peeters, therefore, were the first to be translated into a Western language. For his work, Peeters employed an edition of the *Sl* MSS published by M. N. Speranskij in 1895.¹³² In it Speranskij collated Popov's and Novakovic's MSS against *S* and an eighteenth-century Ukrainian MS (Moscow, Russian State Library *Codex No. 1244 [162]*; = *Uk R*). Speranskij believed, however cautiously, that the four *Sl* witnesses ultimately derive from a single translation from Greek made, likely, in fourteenth-century Bulgaria.¹³³ This lost Greek *Vorlage* corresponded to the form of *Ga* but included also an indeterminate number of additional episodes, some of which had been seen previously by scholars in *Arab. Gos. Inf.* and other sources: *Jesus Rides the Sunbeam* (in *Uk R*), *Jesus in the Temple of Idols* (*X, Uk R*), *Jesus Heals a Blind Man* (*XN*), *Jesus Turns Jewish Children into Swine* (*N*), and *Jesus and the Dyer* (*Uk R*). It seemed to Speranskij that the Slavonic tradition preserved more of the material original

¹³⁰ S. Novakovic, "The Apocrypha of a Serbian-Cyrillic Collection of the Fourteenth Century" (in Serbo-Croatian), *Starin* 8 (1876): 48–55.

¹³¹ Eugen Kozak, "Bibliographische Uebersicht der biblisch-apokryphen Literatur bei den Slaven," in *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie*, Vol. 18 (eds. D. Lipsius, D. Pfeiderer, and D. Schrader; Braunschweig: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn, 1892), 142–43. After Bonwetsch and Kozak the Slavonic MSS were next mentioned in Western scholarship in 1913 by Haase ("Die slavischen Texte," 39) who referred readers to Bonwetsch, and by A. Meyer ("Kindheitserzählung des Thomas" [= "Kindheitserzählung des Thomas"²], in *Neutestamentlichen Apokryphen* [ed. Edgar Hennecke; 2d ed.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1924], 94) who mentioned only that Slavonic MSS exist.

¹³² M. N. Speranskij, "Slavic Apocryphal Gospels," in *The Work of the Eighth Archaeological Conference in Moscow, 1890* (in Russian) (Moscow, 1895), 2:73–92, 137–43.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 86.

to the text than did any previously known version.¹³⁴ Additional Slavonic witnesses were published in 1899: a Middle Bulgarian MS dated to 1337–55 (St. Petersburg, Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences, *A. I. Jacimirskij Cod. No. 15*; =*J*),¹³⁵ another Serbian MS of the sixteenth century (Sofia, Narodna Biblioteka “Kiril i Metodij,” *Cod. 309* [68]; =*L*),¹³⁶ and three eighteenth-century Ukrainian MSS (Kyjiv, Institute of Literature of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, *I. Franko Cod. No. 472*; =*Uk I*; and *Cod. No. 476*; =*F*),¹³⁷ and Public Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, *Cod. No. 577*).¹³⁸ By 1910, additional discoveries had increased the corpus of Ukrainian MSS to ten, two of which are now lost.¹³⁹ The various Ukrainian MSS again feature some of the additional

¹³⁴ Ibid, 75, 80, 89.

¹³⁵ A. I. Jacimirskij, *From Slavic Manuscripts...* (in Russian) (Moscow, 1899), 93–143.

¹³⁶ Published separately by A. S. Arxangel'skij (“On South Slavic History...” [in Russian], *Izvestija Otdelenija Russkogo Jazych i slovenosti Imp. Akagemii Nauk* 4 [1900]: 103–10) and P. A. Lavrov (“Apocryphal Texts” [in Russian], *Sbornik otdelenija russkago jazyka i slovenosti Imperstorskoj Akademii Nauk* 67 [1899]: 111–18).

¹³⁷ I. Franko, *Apocrypha and Legends* (in Russian) (5 vols; L'vov, 1899–1910), 2:159–63, 169–72.

¹³⁸ M. N. Speranskij, *South Russian Texts of the Apocryphal Gospel of Thomas* (in Russian) (Kiev, 1899), 186–90. Rosén provided no siglum for this MS, which is believed to be a late copy of a branch better represented by *Uk B*. See Rosén, *The Slavonic Translation*, 35.

¹³⁹ Two more eighteenth-century MSS (Kyjiv, Central Scientific Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, *Codex No. VIII 209κ/20*; =*G*; and *Codex No. E. A. 901φ*; =*B*) were published in a study of the Ukrainian tradition by V. P. Adrianova, “The Gospel of Thomas in Ancient Ukrainian Literature” (in Russian), *Izvestija Otdelenija Russkogo Jazych i Slovesnosti Imp. Akagemii Nauk* 14.2 (1909): 1–47. She also analyzed the two now-lost MSS: one donated by *M. G. Baskij* (18th century) and one by *O. A. Fotinskij* (dated 1805). Adrianova believed all the Ukrainian MSS reflect a hyparchetype related to the Serbian MS *L*. The remaining two MSS (Kyjiv State University, *Sbornik Vaski Kvasnikova*; =*K*; and a MS in the collection of A.S. Petruszewicz, L'viv, *Cod. 195* which is close to *Uk G*), again of the eighteenth century, were published by Ju. A. Javorskij, “Two Remarkable Carpatho-Russian Miscellanies of the 18th Century” (in Russian), *University Tidings* 50.1 (1910): 1–36; 50.2:65–95.

stories mentioned above;¹⁴⁰ *G* and *Cod. Petrusovic 195*, however, also contain an otherwise unattested story of *Jesus and the Blacksmith* which, therefore, may derive from a Ukrainian popular legend.¹⁴¹

Of all the scholars noted above the most important for the transmission history of IGT was Jacimirskij. Countering the single-translation theory of Speranskij, Jacimirskij claimed there were several Slavonic translations of IGT made from different Greek originals at different times. He also compared the Slavonic MSS known to him with Lambeck's excerpt from *O*, and the unpublished Athos MS *V* mentioned by Lipsius (identified erroneously here as *Cod. Vatopedi 36*, not *37*). Jacimirskij concluded that the Slavonic text stands closer to these two MSS than the two used as the base for Tischendorf's *Ga (DB)*.¹⁴²

Western scholars had their first look at both Jacimirskij's and Speranskij's arguments in W. Lüdtkke's 1927 German-penned overview of scholarship on *Sl*. Ultimately, Lüdtkke placed his support behind Speranskij's theory of a single Greek hyparchetype, but also supported Jacimirskij on the relationship between the original Greek *Vorlage* and the Greek MSS *O* and *V*.¹⁴³ In addition, his article provided Western scholars with their first extended look at *Sl* in a Latin translation of a section

¹⁴⁰ The complete list is as follows: *Jesus Rides the Sunbeam* (*L*, and *Uk IGBRFK*), *Jesus and the Pagan Temple* (*JXL*, and *Uk GBRFK*), *Jesus Heals a Blind Man* (*JXNL*), *Jesus Turns Jewish Children into Swine* (*NL*), and *Jesus and the Dyer* (*Uk IGBRK*). For more information see the chart in Rosén, *The Slavonic Translation*, 39–44.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, 44.

¹⁴² For an overview of Jacimirskij's study see *ibid*, 21 and Lüdtkke, "Die slavischen Texte," 505.

¹⁴³ Lüdtkke, "Die slavischen Texte," 505–6.

corresponding to *Ga*'s missing chapter six material.¹⁴⁴ After Lüdtké most subsequent research on *Sl* has been conducted in the West.

Yet another version of IGT, one not known to Peters, debuted in 1911 in the first part of Sylvain Grébaut's extended work on the *Ta'amra 'Iyasus*, the Ethiopic *Miracles of Jesus*.¹⁴⁵ This first contribution to the publication of the text featured only a complete list of the text's contents, with Miracle Eight (*Eth*) corresponding to *Ga* 2–9, 11–16 and 19; ch. 12, however, is inserted, following *Jesus Rides the Sunbeam*, after ch. 19. Before Grébaut could publish much of his edition, Adolf Grohmann wrote an article on the *Miracles* in 1914 which had direct bearing on the childhood material.¹⁴⁶ In it he noted *Eth*'s alteration to the order of IGT, suggesting that ch. 12 may be a late addition to *Eth*, and that the missing chapters (10, 17, 18) were perhaps not available to the compiler.¹⁴⁷ The majority of the article, however, was dedicated to examining two childhood stories found in a Vienna MS (*Cod. Vind. Aeth. 12*; 17th c.). These stories, similar to *Ga* 2 and a combination of *Ga* 6 and *Jesus and the Dyer*, were shown to have affinities with their parallel versions in *Arab. Gos. Inf.* (chs. 36, 37, 48) and likely arose from contact with this text.¹⁴⁸ The complete text of *Eth*, in Ethiopic and French, saw publication in 1919.¹⁴⁹ At the time, Grébaut was aware of 25 MSS of the *Ta'amra 'Iyasus*, five of which were used for his edition. A late MS of the Bibliothèque Nationale (*d'Abbadie 168*; 19th c.)

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 495–97. The translation is based on *J* and *L*.

¹⁴⁵ Sylvain Grébaut, "Aperçu sur les miracles de N. S.," *ROC* (2ème série) 16 (1911): 255–65, 356–67.

¹⁴⁶ Adolf Grohmann, "Reste einer neuen Rezension der Kindheitsgeschichte Jesu in der *Ta'amra 'Iyasus*," *WZKM* 28 (1914): 1–15.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 3–4.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

served as his base. Of the origin of the larger work, Grébaut and Grohman knew little, but assumed that the IGT material was translated from an Arabic version of the text.¹⁵⁰ *Eth* was received in IGT scholarship with little fanfare. For decades it was believed to be a “secondary” witness to the tradition. Only recently have scholars turned to *Eth* as an important source for reconstructing the earliest form of the gospel.

Grébaut was instrumental also in the publication of another early witness to IGT: the Ethiopic translation of *Ep. Apos.* The text had been known in an incomplete Latin MS since 1908, but only the Ethiopic version, published by Grébaut and Guerrier in 1913,¹⁵¹ features an introductory miracle list which includes the story of *Jesus and the Teacher* (see above 2.1.1.1). Scholarship on *Ep. Apos.* has placed the text in second-century Egypt. If true, the text represents an additional early witness to at least one of the IGT tales, if not the entire text.

One further discovery of the early twentieth century remains to be discussed: a fourth Syriac MS. For the second edition of Hennecke’s *Neutestamentlichen Apokryphen* in 1924, A. Meyer supplemented his readings from *SyrW* with a MS from Göttingen (Universitätsbibliothek, *Syr. 10*; 5/6th c.;¹⁵² = *SyrG*).¹⁵³ The full extent of the new MS was

¹⁴⁹ Sylvain Grébaut, “Les miracles de Jésus: Texte éthiopien publié et traduit,” *PO* 12.4 (1919): 625–42.

¹⁵⁰ Grébaut, “Aperçu,” 255; Grohman, “Reste einer neuen Rezension,” 4.

¹⁵¹ Louis Guerrier and Sylvain Grébaut, “Le Testament en Galilée de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ,” *PO* 9 (1913): 141–236.

¹⁵² W. Baars and J. Heldermaann (“Neue Materialien zum Text und zur Interpretation des Kindheitsevangeliums des Pseudo-Thomas,” *OrChr* 77 [1993]: 193) however assigned to it a seventh-century date

¹⁵³ See Meyer “Kindheitserzählung des Thomas²,” 93–94 for a description of the new MS. In Meyer’s telling, the MS came from Sinai and was donated to Göttingen by H. Duensing who announced the discovery in “Mitteilungen 58,” *TLZ* 36 (1911): 637. It was then noted by Anton Baumstark (*Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluss der*

not revealed at the time, but readers would have seen from Meyer's text that it includes material from *Ga* 6–8 missing in *SyrW*. Other than the mention of *SyrG*, Meyer's second treatment of IGT changed very little from his first. *SyrG* did, however, reaffirm his belief that the Syriac text represents an older text form than the Greek recensions.¹⁵⁴ Unfortunately, it would be many years before a full collation of *SyrG* would see publication.

The monograph that closed this period demonstrates how little the emerging new discoveries had been absorbed into IGT scholarship. *The Apocryphal New Testament* by M. R. James, first published in 1924, includes a bare introduction to the gospel and translates only Tischendorf's *Ga*, *Gb*, and *Lt* without notes, additional readings, or commentary.¹⁵⁵ The Syriac text, alone of the versions to be mentioned by James, is described as a "much abbreviated" version.¹⁵⁶ To his credit, James included additional infancy tales in an appendix (*Soph. Jes. Chr.* 61, *Jesus and the Dyer*, *Jesus Turns Jewish Children into Swine*, and an Old English tale of *The Boy in the Tower*) and even proposed that the *Dyer* and *Swine* episodes once belonged to IGT.¹⁵⁷ But no attention was paid to *Eth*, *Geo*, and *Sl*, and no attempt was made to determine the form of the original text, nor to grapple with its contents. Of all the scholars noted to this point, only Peeters, much-

christlich-palästinensischen Texte [Bonn: A. Marcus & E. Webers Verlag, 1922], 69 n. 12) along with another unpublished MS (*Urmia 43*; dated 1863), apparently now lost (see Baars and Heldermann, "Neue Materialien," 194 n. 17). Meyer credited A. Rahlfs with describing to him the contents of *SyrG*. This admission led Baars and Heldermann to suppose Meyer was neither fully aware of the contents of the MS nor that he used it for his translation (ibid, 193 n. 10). A comparison with Meyer's 1904 translation makes it clear that this is not the case.

¹⁵⁴ Meyer, "Kindheits Erzählung des Thomas²," 94.

¹⁵⁵ James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 49–65.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, 49.

criticized and often-dismissed, truly made an effort to embrace the full range of available evidence for IGT.

James' comments on the *Dyer* and *Swine* episodes doubtless stemmed from the enduring and pervasive theory of the existence of a once-larger version of IGT. Only one thing could break the hold of this expurgation theory: a dismissal of the evidence provided by the *Stichometry* and by Hippolytus (see above 2.1.4.1–2). Most of the scholars reviewed to this point denied the possibility that these testimonies could refer to a completely different text. And the remaining minor survey literature of the period only reaffirmed this position,¹⁵⁷ with Findlay going so far as to state: "if the two Gospels were entirely independent, it would be nothing less than marvelous."¹⁵⁹ It took another new discovery, of another "Gospel of Thomas," to place IGT scholarship on the right course.

2.5 From Delatte to Gero: "Gospel" No More.

The fifth period in IGT scholarship was marked by two major discoveries. The first was a new Greek MS of IGT which, surprisingly, has made little impact on subsequent scholarship. The discovery of the Coptic version of *Gos. Thom.*, on the other

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, 66–70.

¹⁵⁸ Encyclopedia articles: Adam F. Findlay, "Gospels (Apocryphal)," *DCG* 1:680–83; and George J. Reid, "Apocrypha," in *Catholic Encyclopedia* (ed. Charles G. Herbermann *et al.*; 16 vols. New York: The Universal Knowledge Foundation, Inc., 1913–1914), 1:608–9. Historical overviews: Bardenhewer, *Geschichte*, 1:530–33. Essays: J. Geffcken, *Christliche Apokryphen* (Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher 1, 15; Tübingen: H. Laupir, 1908), 19–21; A. Plummer, "The Apocryphal Gospels," *ExpTim* 34 (1922–1923): 473–74; A. M. Vitti, "Evangelia Apocrypha," *VD* 3 (1923): 24–25; and Findlay, *Byways*, 171–78. Apocrypha collections: H. Bakels, *Nieuw Testamentische Apocriefen* (2 vols.; Amsterdam: Gedrukt ter drukkerij van de Wereldbibliotheek, 1922–1923), 1:213–34.

hand, dramatically transformed the way scholars assessed IGT. With the true “Gospel of Thomas” now recovered, the expurgation theory had been stripped of its supporting evidence. By all rights, the hypothesis of gnostic composition should have faded completely from IGT scholarship. Unfortunately, it has not. IGT continues to be confused with the “Gospel of Thomas” citations, thereby leaving much of the research on the infancy gospel in disarray.

Armand Delatte published the new version of IGT from a fifteenth-century Athens MS (Athens, Ethnike Bibliothek, *Cod. Ath. Gr 355*; =*A*) in 1927.¹⁶⁰ Several important differences between this new MS and the previously published Greek recensions help to sketch the later transmission history of IGT. First, *A* is clearly related to *Lt*—they both contain the Egyptian Prologue, and share many variant readings including additional chapter six material absent in Tischendorf’s *Ga* MSS. The vocabulary and syntax of *A*, however, are sufficiently distinct from *Ga* to earn the MS the designation *Gc*.¹⁶¹ Second, *Gc* attributes the stories not to Thomas but to James. It is precisely this detail that M. R. James investigated in a brief 1928 article on the new MS. Looking at the Prologue and its transition section, the latter reproduced almost verbatim from *Prot. Jas.* (25:1–3), James characterized *Gc* as an attempt “to make a single book out of the *Protevangelium* and the Gospel of Thomas,” a process which ultimately led to

¹⁵⁹ Findlay, “Gospels (Apocryphal),” 680.

¹⁶⁰ Armand Delatte, “Évangile de l’enfance de Jacques: Manuscrit No. 355 de la Bibliothèque Nationale,” *Anecdota Atheniensia*, Vol. 1, *Textes grecs inédits relatifs à l’histoire des religions* (Paris: Edouard Champion, 1927), 264–71.

¹⁶¹ Following Malcolm Lowe, “IOYΔΑΙΟΙ of the Apocrypha: A Fresh Approach to the Gospels of James, Pseudo-Thomas, Peter and Nicodemus,” *NovT* 23.1 (1981): 56–90, and Paul Allan Mirecki, “Thomas, Infancy Gospel of,” *ABD* 6:540–44. Voicu (“Notes,” and “Verso”) called it *Gd*.

the creation of *Ps.-Mt.*¹⁶² *A*, therefore, represents a copy of *Gc* that has become detached from the newly-compiled texts. James made no comment, however, on how this affects our understanding of the relationship between the three Greek recensions. A solution to that puzzle, James wrote, awaits further decipherment of *Lv*, at which point, he hoped, the question of IGT's language of composition would be answered once-and-for-all.¹⁶³ Aside from its treatment in James' article, *Gc* has been virtually ignored in scholarship. P. G. Bonnacorsi, for one, had ample opportunity to evaluate the text before publishing *Vangeli apocrifi* in 1948;¹⁶⁴ yet the edition featured only *Ga*, *Gb*, and the first three chapters of *Lt*. Neither the apparatus nor the introduction made any mention of *Gc*. The MS was given more attention in the first edition of Aurelio de Santos Otero's *Los Evangelios Apócrifos* in 1956.¹⁶⁵ Here readings from *Gc* were noted in the excerpt of *Lt*'s Egyptian Prologue. Since the publication of *A*, however, it would be more appropriate to use *Gc*, not *Lt*, as the base text for this material.¹⁶⁶ *Gc* fared little better in more recent editions. This situation is particularly surprising given that it is the only Greek MS published to date that features the additional material from chapter six. Granted, *Gc* is likely a late

¹⁶² James, "The Gospel of Thomas," 53. See also Lowe, "ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΙ," 73–74.

¹⁶³ James, "The Gospel of Thomas," 54.

¹⁶⁴ P. G. Bonnacorsi, *Vangeli apocrifi* (Florence: Libreria Editrice Fiorentina, 1948), xxiii–xxiv (introduction), 1:110–51 (Greek and Italian texts).

¹⁶⁵ De Santos, *Los Evangelios Apócrifos*, 299–301 (introduction), 302–324 (Greek and Spanish text).

¹⁶⁶ Two other apocrypha collections of the time do not feature IGT at all. The text is excluded from J. B. Lightfoot's *Excluded Books of the New Testament* (London: Eveleigh, Nash & Grayson, Ltd., 1927) and F. Amiot's *La Bible Apocryphe*, Vol. 2: *Évangiles Apocryphes* (series ed. H. Daniel-Rops; 2 vols.; Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1952–1953) (=O. Nostiz and J. Tyciak, trans., *Die apokryphen Evangelien des Neuen Testaments* [Zurich: Peter Schifferli, 1956]).

recasting of IGT, but neither this nor any other explanation has ever been offered as justification for neglecting the text.

The intervening years between the discoveries of *Gc* and *Gos. Thom.* were quiet ones for IGT. Survey literature was plentiful—including encyclopedia articles, essays, and a popular collection of excerpts from the NT Apocrypha by Johs Walterscheid¹⁶⁷—but with no major studies devoted to the text, scholarship on IGT progressed very little. Among the minor studies, works by J. Quasten, Morton Enslin, Hugh Schonfield, Émile Amann, Karl Schmidt, and P. Saintyves continued to champion the expurgation theory,¹⁶⁸ though Quasten, apparently unaware of the fifth- and sixth-century evidence, believed the now-expurgated version of the text to be later than the sixth century.¹⁶⁹ Commentary on the text's contents was uniformly negative. Of all these scholars, Enslin was the most verbose, characterizing IGT as a collection of “savorless and inartistic tales” which “depict the arrogant young wonder-worker, destitute of all save a high opinion of himself, the miraculous power to wreak vengeance on all who oppose him, and the ability to escape the consequences of his deeds.”¹⁷⁰ Yet, at the same time, Enslin realized that

¹⁶⁷ Johs Walterscheid, *Das Leben Jesu nach den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen* (Düsseldorf: Patmos-Verlag, 1953).

¹⁶⁸ J. Quasten, *Patrology* (3 vols.; Utrecht-Brussels: Spectrum, 1950–1960), 1:123; Morton S. Enslin, “Along Highways and Byways,” *HTR* 44 (1951): 83; Hugh J. Schonfield, *Readings from the Apocryphal Gospels* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1940), 85; Karl Ludwig Schmidt, *Kanonische und apokryphe Evangelien und Apostelgeschichten* (ATANT 5; Basel: Heinrich Majer, 1944), 84. Émile Amann (“Évangiles apocryphes,” *DTC* 5.2:485), however, lent support to Peeters’ theory though he still believed the individual stories, once gnostic, were “dépouillées de leur malfaisance” before being placed into the later collection of childhood tales. Saintyve’s views were quite similar (“De la nature,” 436, 450).

¹⁶⁹ Quasten, *Patrology*, 1:124.

¹⁷⁰ Enslin, “Along Highways and Byways,” 84. Similar assessments were offered by Schonfield (*Readings from the Apocryphal Gospels*, 18–19) and Walterscheid (*Das*

second-century Christians must have seen something in the childhood tales consistent with who they believed Jesus to be: "the several authors would have been scandalized at the thought that they were guilty of introducing anything alien, even anything new. Instead they were merely making clear and recognizable what was truly there."¹⁷¹ Detailed discussion of IGT from this time is found only in Carlo Cecchelli's *Mater Christi*.¹⁷² Writing in 1954, just prior to the publication of *Gos. Thom.*, Cecchelli presented a sustained argument for gnostic composition of the text. Two years later, however, much of his argument would become superfluous.

Another issue revisited by scholars at this time is the question of a Jewish dimension to IGT's origins. Robert Wilde looked to the text for signs of Jewish-Christian conflict in *The Treatment of the Jews in the Greek Christian Writers of the First Three Centuries*.¹⁷³ Noting in the stories a separation between the Jewish leaders, who are often cursed, and the general Jewish people, he saw evidence in IGT of the early Christian view that the general populace were less culpable in Jesus' death. Schonfield, on the other hand, felt the text's anti-Semitism was aimed more generally, but his comments were influenced by a theory of Jewish-Christian composition for all of the NT Apocrypha.¹⁷⁴ "The loss of judgement and of moral distinction" displayed by Jesus in the

Leben Jesu, 25). Quasten (*Patrology*, 1:124) was more reserved, commenting only that "the author seems to have had a queer concept of divinity."

¹⁷¹ Enslin, "Along Highways and Byways," 92. See also Saintyves, "De la nature," 437–39; Schonfield, *Readings from the Apocryphal Gospels*, 15–18; and Walterscheid, *Das Leben Jesu*, 24–25.

¹⁷² Carlo Cecchelli, *Mater Christi: La Vita di Maria nella storia nella legenda nella commemorazione Liturgica* (3 vols.; Rome: Fr. Ferrari, 1954), 3:351–62.

¹⁷³ Robert Wilde, *The Treatment of the Jews in the Greek Christian Writers of the First Three Centuries* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1949), 220.

¹⁷⁴ See Schonfield, *Readings from the Apocryphal Gospels*, 13–14, 18–19.

text is considered by Schonfield to be intelligible given the animosity that existed between Jews and Christians at the time.¹⁷⁵ Alas, the theory of Jewish-Christian composition of the gospel has not found many supporters. But the discovery of a Garshûni version of a *Jeremiah Apocryphon* published by A. Mingana in 1927¹⁷⁶ offered the first hint at the possibility of a Jewish prehistory of at least one tale from IGT. The text, extant also in Greek, Ethiopic, and Arabic,¹⁷⁷ features a story of the young Ezra similar to *Jesus Carries Water in his Cloak* (Ga 11). This connection was noted by Rendel Harris in his introduction to Mingana's text. Harris saw in the apocryphon unequivocal signs of later Christian redaction, signs which led him to believe, though on rather shaky grounds, that IGT was the source of the tale.¹⁷⁸ More recent discussion on the apocryphon, however, has argued otherwise, and, in the process, has aided in challenging the widespread notion that IGT is of non-Jewish provenance.

All previous theories about IGT's origins were called into question when scholars had their first look at the Coptic *Gos. Thom.* in 1956.¹⁷⁹ This new "Gospel of Thomas" fits far better the patristic testimony often used to sketch the origins and transmission history of IGT. Scholars were forced, therefore, to pull away from the early citations and start to take seriously the idea that IGT is not an expurgated text at all. As a result, the shorter non-Greek witnesses grew increasingly important. Two of these shorter witnesses

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, 18–19.

¹⁷⁶ A. Mingana and Rendel Harris, "Woodbrooke Studies 2: (i) A New Jeremiah Apocryphon," *BJRL* 11 (1927): 329–447.

¹⁷⁷ See the discussion in L. Leroy and P. Dib, "Un apocryphe carchouni sur la captivité de babylone," *ROC* 15 (1910): 398–409.

¹⁷⁸ Mingana and Harris, "Woodbrooke Studies 2," 335.

¹⁷⁹ In a photographic facsimile edition by Pahor Labib, *Coptic Gnostic Papyri in the Coptic Museum at Old Cairo* (Cairo: Government Press, 1956).

reached scholars just as the new texts from Nag Hammadi were beginning their long domination of scholarship on the NT Apocrypha. In 1956 G. Garitte presented his Latin translation of *Geo*, bringing the text to the West almost forty years after its initial publication.¹⁸⁰ Before Garitte, *Geo* was sorely neglected by Western scholars; besides Peeters,¹⁸¹ only Amann had even mentioned its existence.¹⁸² Garitte's translation was based on a definitive edition of the MS made in 1941 by A. Sanidze who emended some of *Geo*'s difficult passages and noted its correspondences to *SyrW*.¹⁸³

The other new witness to the shorter text is a Gaelic MS featuring a poetic paraphrase of IGT (Dublin, National Library of Ireland MS G 50; 17th c.; =*Ir*). *Ir* appeared first in a preliminary edition by James Carney in 1958 and then in a definitive edition in 1964.¹⁸⁴ Carney dated the translation of the text (from Latin) on philological grounds to around 700, making *Ir* one of the earliest witnesses to IGT.¹⁸⁵ This realization led Carney to speculate on the origins of the gospel. Noting formal correspondences

¹⁸⁰ Garitte, "Le fragment géorgien," 513–16 (introduction), 516–20 (Latin text).

¹⁸¹ Besides his initial mention of *Geo* in 1914, Peeters noted also the publication of the two editions by Kekelidze and Melikset-Bek in a review of K. Kekelidze, *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica*, *AnBoll* 43 (1925): 379–83.

¹⁸² Amann, "Apocryphes," col. 486.

¹⁸³ A. Sanidze, "A Fragment of the Georgian Version of the Apocryphal 'Gospel of Thomas' and its Incomprehensible Passages" (in Russian), *Stalinis sahelobis T'ibilis sah. Universitatis Sromebi* 18 (1941): 29–40.

¹⁸⁴ James Carney, "Two Old Irish Poems," *Eriu* 18 (1958): 1–43. Much of the introduction and the text itself were reproduced in Carney's critical edition in *The Poems of Blathmac, Son of Cu Brettan: Together with the Irish Gospl of Thomas and a Poem on the Virgin Mary* (Dublin: Educational Co. of Ireland, 1964), xv–xix, 89–105. An English translation of the Irish IGT can be found also in Máire Herbert and Martin McNamara, *Irish Biblical Apocrypha* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989), 44–47, and a new translation is being prepared by Herbert for *Apocrypha Hiberniae*, Vol. 1, *Evangelia infantiae* (ed. Irish Biblical Association and Martin McNamara. Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum; Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

¹⁸⁵ Carney, *Poems of Blathmac*, xviii.

between *Ir* and *Gb*—*Ir* features *Ga* 2–9, 11–13 while *Gb* has *Ga* 1–11, 13—he concluded that the two share a common stock of eight episodes, with each eliminating one story. *Ga* and *Lt*, with their additional teacher stories and the more benign miracles, he claimed, are the product of later additions made in “an effort to improve the character of Jesus as presented in the primitive text.”¹⁸⁶ Needing to account for the vastly different readings of *Ir* from *Gb* (and *Ga*, for that matter), Carney specified that *Ir*’s distance (through multiple translations) from the Greek original renders it valuable only for recovering the *form* of the text.¹⁸⁷

The comparison of *Ir* with other extant witnesses to IGT was given a more thorough treatment by Martin McNamara in 1971.¹⁸⁸ Though in agreement with Carney on the shared form of *Ir* and *Gb*, McNamara found that the content of *Gb* follows *Ga* while that of *Ir*, *Syr*, *Lt*, and *Lm* “form a class apart.”¹⁸⁹ Regrettably, McNamara did not explain how such a phenomenon could occur. He concluded further that the translator of *Ir* may have combined two early versions of the text—in *Ir* the teacher strikes Jesus with “a fist or a stick,” whereas in *Syr* it is a hand, and in *Lm* (*Ps.-Mt.* 31:1) it is a stick.¹⁹⁰ In a critique of Carney’s and McNamara’s work, D. N. Dumville considered this last point

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, xvi–xvii.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, xvii–xviii.

¹⁸⁸ Martin McNamara, “Notes on the Irish Gospel of Thomas,” *ITQ* 38 (1971): 42–66. His conclusions are summarized in *idem*, “New Testament Apocrypha in the Irish Church,” in *SE* 6:335–36. McNamara’s detailed overview of the various evidence (“Notes,” 43–44), which includes mention of *Geo*, *Eth*, but not *Gc*, erroneously identifies de Santos’ (*Los Evangelios Apócrifos*) publication of *Lt* 1–3 as *Lv*.

¹⁸⁹ McNamara, “Notes on the Irish Gospel of Thomas,” 47.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 55.

“an unjustifiable assumption.”¹⁹¹ As for Carney’s conclusions regarding the relationship between *Ir* and *Gb*, Dumville rightly affirmed that *Ir* has the least in common with *Gb*; instead *Ir* represents an early Latin text closer to *Syr* than the Greek or Latin MSS.¹⁹² Voicu later determined that *Ir* is a translation of the full text of *Lv*¹⁹³ and is therefore instrumental for reconstructing this early source. Unfortunately, most scholars have ignored *Ir* completely;¹⁹⁴ the few who brought the text into their discussions considered it of little value for recovering IGT’s original text.¹⁹⁵

The three important new IGT discoveries took some time to be assimilated into subsequent editions and translations of the text. This regrettable situation is apparent in Oscar Cullmann’s entry in the updated edition of Hennecke’s NT Apocrypha collection.¹⁹⁶ In the decades following Meyer’s 1924 introduction to the text, *Gc*, *Geo*, and *Ir* had been made available, Lüdtke had published his overview of *Sl* scholarship, and *Gos. Thom.* had been recovered; yet Cullmann’s 1959 update (with an English translation

¹⁹¹ D. N. Dumville, “Biblical Apocrypha and the Early Irish: A Preliminary Investigation,” *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 73C.8 (1973): 304 n. 32.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 304. Lowe (“IOYΔAIOI,” 77 n. 82) agreed with some of Dumville’s criticism of Carney. He questioned whether Carney was even aware of the existence of *Eth*, *Sl*, *Geo*, and *SyrW*.

¹⁹³ Voicu, “Verso,” 45–53.

¹⁹⁴ Gero, “The Infancy Gospel of Thomas,” and Cullmann, “Infancy Gospels¹,” made no mention of the text, likely because *Ir* was published so close to the publication of their discussions that they may not have been aware of it. For “Infancy Gospels²,” Cullmann did not include *Ir* in his survey of the versions but he listed Carney (“Two Old Irish Poems”) and McNamara (“Notes on the Irish Gospel of Thomas”) in his section bibliography. Elliott (*The Apocryphal New Testament*) listed Herbert and McNamara in his bibliography but otherwise ignored the text. Lowe and Mirecki are the only non-Irish scholars who have shown interest in the MS. Lowe featured *Ir* prominently in “IOYΔAIOI” and Mirecki’s encyclopedia article followed Carney and McNamara in identifying *Ir* as a representative of the *Gb* text (“Thomas,” 541).

¹⁹⁵ Even Voicu (“Notes,” 123; “Verso,” 27–28) thought *Ir* unimportant except as a witness to the *form* of its exemplar.

in 1963) failed to take full account of the new developments and, indeed, represents a step backward in the study of the text. With the number and variety of witnesses mounting, Cullmann chose not to attempt a reconstruction of the original text, instead preferring to wait until "all the material has been critically assessed."¹⁹⁷ Most of the MSS were listed in his introduction but for his text Cullmann translated only *Ga* and placed Syriac variants alone in the notes. Chapter six from *SyrW* and *Jesus and the Dyer* were relegated to the appendices. The recovery of *Gos. Thom.*, though potentially devastating to theories of IGT's origins, seems initially to have had little effect on German scholarship's association of the text with Gnosticism. Cullmann claimed Jesus' maturity is evidence for docetic christology, and his wisdom is characteristic of the belief in Jesus as the all-knowing gnostic revealer. Much of Cullmann's remaining discussion merely repeated Meyer's suggestion that IGT hails from Syria (due to the Thomas attribution and the Indian parallels) and his praise for the author's flair for vivid story-telling.¹⁹⁸

Cullmann was not the only scholar of his time slow to set aside earlier theories. In his 1956 collection, *Die Apocryphen Schriften*,¹⁹⁹ Wilhelm Michaelis essentially restated Meyer's theory that the present IGT is the result of gnostic expansion of a collection of tales similar to those told of other important men. Morton Enslin re-evaluated IGT in light of the Nag Hammadi discovery in a 1962 dictionary article. He concluded that neither *Gos. Thom.* nor IGT are the original "Gospel of Thomas" noted by the fathers;

¹⁹⁶ Cullmann, "Infancy Gospels¹."

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 391.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 391–92.

¹⁹⁹ Wilhelm Michaelis, *Die Apocryphen Schriften zum Neuen Testament* (2d ed.; Bremen: Carl Schunemann, 1958 [1956]¹), 96–87 (introduction), 99–111 (German translation of *Ga* with notes).

rather, both derive from an originally longer work, as do other tales of Jesus' infancy.²⁰⁰ And in a short, error-ridden, non-academic piece from 1966 on the noncanonical infancy gospels, J. C. Marsh-Edwards offered the familiar identification of IGT as a text known to Origen and later expurgated of gnostic material by orthodox revisers.²⁰¹

By the middle of the sixties theories of gnostic composition or revision were beginning to wane leaving room for the consideration of other influences on the text. In a short 1964 article by J. B. Bauer—much of which was reproduced in his discussion of IGT in his *Die neutestamentlichen Apokryphen* from 1968—no mention is made of gnostic origins.²⁰² Instead, IGT is described as the product of a need to fill in Jesus' "hidden years" by those who felt alienated by more intellectual treatments of Jesus' message.²⁰³ A Jewish provenance for at least some of the tales was proposed in articles by Jacob Neusner and K. H. Kuhn.²⁰⁴ Though the majority of scholars at the time continued to claim that IGT contains no intimate knowledge of Judaism,²⁰⁵ Neusner challenged their position by suggesting that Zacchaeus from the *Teacher* episode may have been inspired by real-life Rabbi Yohanan ben Zakkai who lived in Galilee ca. 20–40 C.E. He further speculated that the story arose in a post 70 C.E. Jewish-Christian

²⁰⁰ Morton S. Enslin, "Apocrypha, NT," *IDB* 4: 634–35.

²⁰¹ J. C. Marsh-Edwards, "Our Debt to the Apocryphal Infancy Gospels," *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 105 (1966): 366, 371.

²⁰² Johannes Baptist Bauer, "Die Entsehung apokrypher Evangelien," *BL* 38 (1964): 268–71; idem, *Die neutestamentlichen Apokryphen* (Die Welt der Bibel 21; Dusseldorf: Patmos, 1968), 52–55.

²⁰³ J. B. Bauer, "Die Entstehung apokrypher Evangelien," 269–70, and idem, *Die neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, 7.

²⁰⁴ Jacob Neusner, "Zacchaeus/Zakkai," *HTR* 57 (1964): 57–59; K. H. Kuhn, "A Coptic Jeremiah Apocryphon," *Le Muséon* 83 (1970): 95–135, 291–350.

community as an effort to liberate the community from the authority of Yohanan's academy at Yavneh. Kuhn focused his discussion on the relationship between the story of *Jesus Carries Water in his Cloak* (Ga 11) and the *Jeremiah Apocryphon*. Responding to Harris' claim that the author, or Christian redactor, of the apocryphon drew upon IGT for the story, Kuhn asked:

Would a Christian transfer a miracle, the performance of which was attributed to Jesus, to Ezra? And if the work is of Jewish origin, would a Jew read and use the apocryphal gospel? Is it not, after all, more likely that this miracle story had been in existence for some time and was associated freely with the names of famous men to enhance their status?²⁰⁶

Kuhn's final question could be asked of any who would try to draw too linear a relationship between IGT and its numerous parallels.

Much of the remainder of the literature for this period, other than brief descriptions of the text,²⁰⁷ discussed IGT only to hurl insults at its author and audience. Sparing no invective, Jacques Hervieux described IGT in his 1960 polemical work on the NT Apocrypha as "a selection of tales altogether beyond the bounds of common sense, in

²⁰⁵ See Michaelis, *Die Apocryphen Schriften*, 97; Cullmann, "Infancy Gospels¹," 391; J. B. Bauer, *Die neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, 52. Nicolas, Variot, and Schonfield (see above) are exceptions.

²⁰⁶ Kuhn, "A Coptic Jeremiah Apocryphon," 101–2.

²⁰⁷ H.-W. Bartsch, "Kindheitsevangelien," *RGG* 3: 1294–95; Alfred Stuiber, "Die Christlichen Apokryphen Schriften," in *Patrologie* (eds. Bertold Altaner and Alfred Stuiber (7th ed.; Freiburg: Herder, 1966), 126; Henkey, "Bible, Apocrypha," 405; Jack Finegan, *Hidden Records of the Life of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1969), 238. Two NT Apocrypha collections from this period by Marcello Craveri (*I Vangeli Apocrifi* [Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 1969], 29–31 [introduction], 32–61 [text]) and Luigi Moraldi (*Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento* [2 vols.; Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1971], 1:247–52 [introduction], 1:253–79 [texts]) offered little in the way of fresh insights on IGT. For his text Craveri merely translated *Ga*, *Gb*, and *Lt*, and used *SyrW* in the notes to *Ga*. Moraldi's collection added to these the only vernacular translation of *Geo* (from Garitte's Latin).

which the Child Jesus becomes the hero of ridiculous and shabby pranks."²⁰⁸ Then, echoing the words of many writers before him, he added: "that is not the picture of Christ which the inspired Gospel gives us."²⁰⁹ Two of Hervieux's contemporaries, Charles Pfeiffer and R. J. Foster,²¹⁰ made essentially the same remark. This sentiment, so much a part of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century attitudes toward apocryphal literature, seems to have retained a stronger hold on IGT than on any other noncanonical text.

The period finally came to a close with the work of two scholars, Aurelio de Santos Otero and Stephen Gero, who differed from each other on virtually every issue surrounding IGT. In his ambitious *Das kirchenslavische Evangelium des Thomas*, published in 1967,²¹¹ de Santos attempted a reconstruction of the Greek *Vorlage* behind *Sl*. For his base de Santos used the fourteenth-century Bulgarian MS *J*, presented, with variants, in German translation. He then compared its readings with *Gc*, the individual *Ga* MSS *P* and *O*,²¹² and the versions *Lt*, *Geo*, and *SyrW*, and constructed a Greek retroversion of the single source from which *Sl* is believed to have been translated. The entry of the Greek text into the Slavonic milieu he dated to the tenth or eleventh century—the height of the Bogomil heresy.²¹³ This Greek text, which includes the

²⁰⁸ Hervieux, *The New Testament Apocrypha*, 106.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 112.

²¹⁰ Charles F. Pfeiffer, *An Introduction to the Apocryphal Books of the Old and New Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 1964), 123; R. J. Foster, "The Apocrypha of the Old and New Testaments," in *A New Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture* (ed. R. C. Fuller et al.; London: Nelson, 1969), 113.

²¹¹ Aurelio de Santos Otero, *Das kirchenslavische Evangelium des Thomas* (PTS 6; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1967).

²¹² *V* (*Cod. Vatopedi 37*), known to Jacimirskij, is conspicuously absent.

²¹³ De Santos, *Kirchenslavische*, 35. This position had been countered already in 1950 by Émil Turdeanu ("Apocryphes bogomiles et apocryphes pseudo-bogomiles," *RHR* 138

missing chapter six material and less of the corruptions evident in *B* and *D*, was believed by de Santos to represent an exemplar superior to that of *Ga. Kirchenslavische's* retroversion, however, is so influenced by the style of *Gc* that the book presents little more than a reconstruction of an already extant source. In the final chapter of his work, de Santos argued that the Greek *Vorlage* contains more gnostic elements than other versions of the text. These elements include such terms as “the chosen one” (*Ga* 1), “living ones” (*Ga* 2:4), “amazement” in connection with seeking and finding (*Ga* 5:3), and “bearing fruit” (*Ga* 3:2; 8:1). Also considered significant are the echoes of such themes as the role of the alphabet in creation and cosmology, the child Jesus as Redeemer (in the writings of Valentinus and the “gnostic” Apocryphal Acts), and docetic christology.²¹⁴ As further proof of gnostic composition, de Santos cited IGT’s apparent popularity among gnostic groups—Irenaeus places the text among the Marcosians, and the Hippolytus citation (see above 2.1.4.1), which contains a saying from a “Gospel of Thomas” used by the Naasenes, was considered by de Santos to be a reference to, but not a quotation from, IGT.²¹⁵

De Santos’ work was heavily criticized on two main fronts: for his lack of expertise in Slavistics, and for his nearsighted view of gnostic influence.²¹⁶ Horace Lunt,

(1950): 176, 199–204). Finding nothing especially heretical in IGT, Turdeanu saw no need for a sect to spread the material in the Orthodox Slavonic area.

²¹⁴ De Santos, *Kirchenslavische*, 172–78.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 177–84.

²¹⁶ See the reviews by Horace G. Lunt (*Slavic and East European Review* 12 [1968]: 386–90; and his article “On the Apocryphal Gospel of Thomas,” in *Proceedings of the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts* [ed. Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts; Skopje: Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1970], 99–105), J. Shütz (*ByzZ* 62 [1969]: 94–95), Biserka Grabar (*Slovo* 18–19 [1969]: 386–90), Rudolf Aitzetmüller

who contributed both a review of *Kirchenslavische* and a 1970 article on *Sl*, noted de Santos' failure to make full use of the important fourteenth-century Serbian MS *X*. "Ignorance of this text," he wrote, "has repeatedly led to dubious or clearly false conclusions."²¹⁷ Several reviewers, including Lunt, questioned de Santos' theory of a single Greek prototype.²¹⁸ In addition, de Santos was repeatedly criticized for not including in his work an edition of the text in Slavonic;²¹⁹ the retroversion, Lunt wrote, is "premature" given the complexities of the variants.²²⁰ Western scholars not versed in Slavonic focused their assessments of *Kirchenslavische* on the claim of gnostic provenance for the text. Their reservations were expressed best by Gero: "De Santos does not betray an acquaintance with the current debate on the definition and meaning of Gnosticism. Though words like 'elect one,' 'matter,' 'fruitful' may be suggestive in the context of a full Gnostic myth, in isolation they are not necessarily significant."²²¹

Despite the many charges leveled against *Kirchenslavische*, the study was valuable for its several noteworthy insights on the transmission history of IGT. De Santos used *Sl* and *Gc* to elucidate several corrupt readings in *Ga*, and illustrated just how

(*Anzeiger für slavische Philologie* 3 [1969]: 142–49), Michel van Esbroeck (*AnBoll* 87 [1969]: 261–63), and J.-E. Ménard (*RHR* 175 [1969]: 218–21).

²¹⁷ Lunt, "On the Apocryphal Gospel of Thomas," 101 n. 1. De Santos was unable to obtain a copy of the MS and used instead extracts quoted by Speranskij, Jacimirskij, and Ivanov. See *Kirchenslavische*, v.

²¹⁸ Lunt, "On the Apocryphal Gospel of Thomas," 101; Aizetmüller, review of de Santos, *Kirchenslavische*, 144–45; Rosén, *The Slavonic Translation*, 24.

²¹⁹ See the reviews of de Santos, *Kirchenslavische*, by Lunt, Aizetmüller, and Grabar.

²²⁰ Lunt, "On the Apocryphal Gospel of Thomas," 101.

²²¹ Gero, "The Infancy Gospel of Thomas," 75 n. 3. See the reviews of de Santos, *Kirchenslavische*, by Ménard, George MacRae (*CBQ* 30 [1968]: 635–36), and Birger Pearson (*JBL* 89 [1970]: 258). Van Esbroeck (review of de Santos, *Kirchenslavische*, 263), for his part, praised de Santos for placing the origin of IGT firmly among the gnostics.

poorly *B* and *D* (Tischendorf's base MSS) represent the original text.²²² *B* and *D*, he stated, are the results of both intentional and accidental alterations made to IGT after the eleventh century. De Santos also made a valiant attempt to dismiss Peeters' theory of Syriac composition. He claimed that a Greek *Vorlage* is observable behind *SyrW*'s corruptions. Unfortunately, however, the one example he cited as proof is rather unconvincing.²²³ *Kirchenslavische* also inadvertently introduced scholars to two new Greek MSS of the text. In his review of de Santos' work, Michel van Esbroeck noted two Greek sources apparently unknown to de Santos: *H* (Jerusalem, Bibliotheke tou Patriarcheiou, *Cod. Saba* 259; 1089/90) and *R* (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Palatinus Gr* 364; 15th c.).²²⁴ It was some time, however, before these MSS were fully evaluated.

Ultimately, de Santos' work had little lasting effect on the study of IGT. Only two scholars had enough faith in his retroversion to employ it in their reconstructions—Cullmann used it in 1991 to supply *Ga*'s deficient chapter six and Hock included its readings in the apparatus to his edition.²²⁵ Worse still, *Kirchenslavische* quickly became outdated. Only two years after its publication, Biserka Grabar published the last of the known Medieval MSS: a fifteenth-century Croatian Glagolitic fragment (Zagreb, Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences, *Fragm. glag. br.* 99. "*Jedan list malog formata*"; =C) related to the important *JMS*.²²⁶

²²² De Santos, *Kirchenslavische*, 154–57.

²²³ See section 5.1.1 below.

²²⁴ Van Esbroeck, review of de Santos, *Kirchenslavische*, 262.

²²⁵ Cullmann, "Infancy Gospels²"; Ronald F. Hock, *The Infancy Gospels of James and Thomas* (The Scholars Bible 2; Santa Rosa, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1995).

²²⁶ Biserka Grabar, "Glagoljski odlomak Pseudo-Tomina Evandelja." *Slovo* 18–19 (1969):

Of all de Santos' critics none have contributed more to the study of IGT than Stephen Gero. His first work on the text came in a comprehensive text-critical study for *Novum Testamentum* in 1971.²²⁷ The article's primary intent, Gero wrote, was "to try to correlate the literary versions with the different stages of the oral tradition."²²⁸ Along the way, Gero assessed all of the witnesses (except for *Ir*) to both the full text and to the individual stories, he conducted form-critical analyses of key episodes, and constructed a detailed stemma of transmission. Gero's concentration on material evidence for the text led him to an overly cautious conclusion on IGT's date of composition. The early literary fixation of individual episodes (the Alpha-Beta logion quoted by Irenaeus, for example) are admittedly not proof for the existence of the full text; and so, he wrote, "unless further finds are forthcoming, we must assume that the first versions of our present TE [IGT] were not written down before the fifth century."²²⁹ As for the later transmission history of the text, Gero believed that oral material weaved in and out of the tradition over the centuries, with the less well-attested stories entering the cycle at a later stage, and that stories were variously added or removed based on dogmatic or moral criteria. *Ga*, therefore, is not an adequate witness to the early form of the text. Instead, Gero thought *SyrW* should be taken as the base text, especially where it is supported by *Geo*.²³⁰

Gero's analysis did not stop there. Over the course of his discussion none of the prevailing opinions on IGT were left untouched. Countering de Santos, Gnostic connections, particularly to the *Gos. Thom. logia*, were examined and dismissed as

213–33.

²²⁷ Gero, "The Infancy Gospel of Thomas."

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 47.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 56 n. 1.

unconvincing,²³¹ as is the text's association, via the Thomas attribution, with Syria. Gero pointed out that the evidence indicates that the apostolic authorship is a late addition to the text and that it arose in a non-Syrian milieu. Perhaps most important of all, Gero's form-critical analysis suggested that IGT may contain once-independent units of sayings material, which, presumably, could be traced back to early tradition.²³² This is particularly the case for the "revelation discourse" of chapter six which Gero felt "illustrates well that there is more theological sophistication in the infancy gospel material than commonly supposed."²³³

Gero's article quickly became a valuable resource for subsequent scholarship on IGT. Yet, it was not the much-needed final few nails in the coffin for such notions as gnostic composition, connections with Thomas-associated Christianity, and the expurgation theory, nor did its criticism of *Ga* lead to wholesale abandonment of this flawed version of the text. All of these outdated scholarly institutions continued in use throughout the most recent period of research on the text. Nevertheless, Gero's efforts did help the study of IGT grow in sophistication, but true progress would not be made until scholars embraced his conclusions and opened themselves up to the growing evidence for the shorter text. And they were slow to do so.

²³⁰ Ibid, 55–57.

²³¹ Ibid, 77–79.

²³² This suggestion received support from Guy Davenport and Benjamin Urrutia, the editors of a recent collection of the sayings of Jesus (*The Logia of Yeshua* [Washington, D.C.: Counterpoint, 1996], 3, 49). They included as their first entry the Alpha-Beta logion (*Ga* 6:3, 14:2) believing it to be so consistent with Jesus' adult style that "the twelve-year-old Yeshua just *might* have said it" (xiii).

²³³ Gero, "The Infancy Gospel of Thomas," 69.

2.6 Noret to Voicu: A Critical Edition in Sight.

This latest period in IGT scholarship began with the long-awaited announcement of a critical edition. Unfortunately, the edition never materialized, but by the turn of the new millennium, the original text of IGT was well on its way to being recovered. The plans for the edition were reported in a short note by Jacques Noret in a 1972 issue of *Analecta Bollandiana*.²³⁴ Here Noret listed all the Greek MSS of the text known to him and requested information on additional unpublished Greek MSS. His list included the first mention of two witnesses: one from Athos (M. Megistes Lauras, *Cod. Lavra* Θ 222 15th c.; =L) and another from Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *Cod. hist. Gr* 91; 14/15th c.; =W).

Almost thirty years later, a complete critical edition of all the IGT evidence has yet to surface, but Noret's announcement provided the stimulus for important preliminary work on two branches of the text's tradition. The first of these was a study of the Old Latin palimpsest (Lv) by Guy Philippart.²³⁵ His article, found in the same volume as Noret's note, featured a thorough codicological analysis of the MS, and a complete edition of all the decipherable material. New technology allowed Philippart to recover some additional lines of IGT but not enough to make a significant contribution to the study of the text. Peeters' and James' hopes that the MS would help determine once and for all the original language of IGT, therefore, will never be realized.

²³⁴ Jacques Noret, "Pour une édition de l'Évangile de l'enfance selon Thomas," *AnBoll* 90 (1972): 412.

The second study, a 1975 article on *Eth*, yielded more plentiful results.²³⁶ V. Arras and Lucas van Rompay listed all the known MSS of the *Miracles of Jesus*, now numbering eighty, noting which of them include IGT and where it is placed in the text—either tagged on at the end, or placed in or close to appropriate chronological sequence.²³⁷ MSS containing the “second recension” of infancy material discussed by Grohman are also indicated.²³⁸ In addition, Arras and van Rompay built upon work on the Arabic source of the *Miracles of Jesus*, now identified as an apocryphal “Gospel of John.”²³⁹ But this Arabic John is not the source of the Ethiopic IGT, for it contains no childhood material whatsoever. This fact, coupled with the variety of placements of IGT in the Ethiopic MSS, led Arras and van Rompay to conclude that IGT was a late addition to the *Miracles of Jesus*.²⁴⁰ Van Rompay continued his work on *Eth* in a Dutch article in 1980.²⁴¹ His aim this time was to prove wrong Gero’s assessment of *Eth* as a “paraphrase” and therefore a “secondary” witness to IGT.²⁴² By comparing the readings

²³⁵ Guy Philippart, “Fragments palimpsestes latins du Vindobonensis 563 (V^e siècle?): Évangile selon S. Matthieu, Évangile de Nicodème, Évangile de l’Enfance selon Thomas,” *AnBoll* 90 (1972): 391–411. The IGT section of the MS is found on pp. 406–8.

²³⁶ V. Arras and Lucas van Rompay, “Les manuscrits éthiopiens des ‘Miracles de Jesus,’” *AnBoll* 93 (1975): 133–46.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 137–43.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 145–46.

²³⁹ A portion of the text was published first by W. Scott Watson, “A Syriac-Arabic Narrative of Miracles of Jesus,” *AJSL* 16 (1899/1900): 37–46. Oscar Löffgren discovered an additional MS from the twelfth century and identified it as the *Urtext* of the *Miracles* (see “Fakta och dokument angående det apokryfiska Johannesvangeliet,” *Svensk exegetisk arsbok* 7 [1942]: 30). The full text was published by J. Galbiati, *Iohannis evangelium apocryphorum arabice* (2 vols.; Milan, 1957).

²⁴⁰ Arras and van Rompay, “Les Manuscrits éthiopiens,” 143–44.

²⁴¹ Lucas van Rompay, “De ethiopische versie van het Kindsheidsevangelie volgens Thomas de Israëliet,” in *Enfant dans les civilisations orientales* (eds. A. Théodoridès, P. Naster, and J. Riesl; Leuven: Editions Peeters, 1980), 119–32.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 120–21. See Gero, “The Infancy Gospel of Thomas,” 55.

of IGT 5 and 6 in *Ga* with their parallels in *Eth*, *SyrW*, *Geo*, and *Lv*, van Rompay demonstrated that the four versions derive from a common recension distinct from the Greek. *Eth*, therefore, is not so “secondary” after all, as it appears to have been “*weinig gewijzigde*” (“little changed”) in the process of transmission.²⁴³ On the original language of *Eth*, van Rompay discounted Gero’s theory of transmission from Syriac via Coptic but hesitated to propose a theory of his own. The possibility of translation directly from Greek (ca. *ante* 700 C.E.), however, was not discounted.²⁴⁴ Gero later returned to *Eth* in a 1988 survey article on the *Miracles of Jesus*.²⁴⁵ Now repentant, Gero essentially repeated the conclusions of van Rompay, though he was more firm about the possibility of a Greek original for the text. The presence of Greek letters (“alpha...beta”) in *Eth*’s alphabet speculation section may point in that direction.²⁴⁶ Important also was Gero’s characterization of Grébaut’s base MS as a “deviant text” inferior to other MSS closer to the Arabic *Vorlage* of the apocryphal “Gospel of John.”²⁴⁷ Since Gero, only one other work has appeared solely devoted to the *Miracles*: Witold Witakowski’s 1995 survey article.²⁴⁸ Though more detailed in his treatment than Gero, Witakowski’s study merely summarized past scholarship. Additional work on the text is sorely needed, particularly if, as Gero asserted, the present edition of *Eth* is based on an inferior witness.

²⁴³ Van Rompay, “De ethiopische versie,” 131–32.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 132 n. 47.

²⁴⁵ Stephen Gero, “The Ta’amra ’Iyasus: A Study of Textual and Source-Critical Problems,” in *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies* (ed. T. Beyene; Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University, 1988), 165–70.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 167.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 166.

²⁴⁸ Witold Witakowski, “The Miracles of Jesus: An Ethiopian Apocryphal Gospel,” *Apocrypha* 6 (1995): 279–98.

Reassessments of the evidence for IGT continued in works by Malcolm Lowe and Paul Allan Mirecki. Lowe realized that any serious attempt to work on IGT necessitated detailed preliminary text-critical work. As a result, his 1981 study of the use of the term 'louδᾱίος in early Christian literature inadvertently ended up presenting, at least in his estimation, "the first serious theory of how [IGT] developed and spread."²⁴⁹ Lowe believed 'louδᾱίος was used by non-Jews between 200 B.C.E. and 200 C.E. to identify Judean residents or emigrants.²⁵⁰ He employed this conclusion in an attempt to determine the geographical origin of four noncanonical texts: IGT, *Prot. Jas.*, *Gos. Pet.*, and *Gos. Nic.* After a detailed analysis of the IGT traditions, Lowe was forced to admit that the gospel "most probably did not contain the word 'louδᾱίος anywhere."²⁵¹ Of course, his conclusion is only as strong as his text-critical skills, which are found wanting. Like Carney before him, Lowe valued the versions of the text that do not contain duplicate stories: *Gb* and *Ir*. He reduced the core material shared by the two to *Gb* 1–8 and 10, eliminating *Jesus Heals a Young Man's Foot* (*Ga* 10; *Gb* 9) because it is absent from *Syr* and *Eth*, and *The Miraculous Harvest* (*Ga* 12; *Ir* strophe 46) because it appears to be a late addition in *Eth*.²⁵² *Syr* and *Eth*, both of which contain apparently secondary material in the duplicate *Teacher* stories (*Ga* 14, 15) and *Jesus in the Temple* (*Ga* 19), were assigned an intermediary position between *Gb/Ir* and *Ga*. Having determined that *Gb* and *Ir* are the earliest versions of the gospel, Lowe considered only their use of 'louδᾱίος significant. Since the term is absent in *Gb* and Lowe dismissed its single occurrence in *Ir*

²⁴⁹ "ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΙ," 85.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 57.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 59.

as an "explanatory addition,"²⁵³ IGT was ruled out of consideration for the study. The flaw in Lowe's transmission theory for IGT is its neglect of content in favour of form. McNamara's study of the various traditions indicated that, whereas *Gb* and *Ir* are both short texts, *Ir*'s readings place the Irish text among the other early versions, and *Gb*'s among the Greek, Latin, and Slavonic traditions. Given that stories were added to and removed from the various infancy gospels throughout their transmission, any conclusions regarding the relationships between the witnesses cannot be based on agreements in form alone.

Only one other writer joined Lowe and Carney in assigning significant value to *Gb*. In a short 1983 article Paul Mirecki followed his like-minded predecessors in citing non-duplication of stories as proof of *Gb*'s primacy.²⁵⁴ To this evidence, Mirecki added several other points: in *Gb* the two miracles of *Ga* 2–3 are not interwoven as in other witnesses, the readings are often shorter, the *Temple* story (*Ga* 19) is absent, and, unlike some other versions, it does not group similar episodes together (e.g., *Ga* 17 and 18).²⁵⁵ Mirecki later repeated his theory in an in-depth entry for 1992's *Anchor Bible Dictionary*.²⁵⁶ Despite Mirecki's efforts, however, *Gb*-primacy has not won many adherents. Its formal correspondences with *Ir* seem to be coincidental, arising from similar yet independent efforts to abbreviate the text. Furthermore, the presence of multiple versions of stories in a narrative is no certain indication of expansion. As other

²⁵² Ibid, 76–78. Lowe's discussion of the versions shows no awareness of van Rompay's "De ethiopische versie."

²⁵³ Ibid, 82–85.

²⁵⁴ Paul Allan Mirecki, "The Infancy Gospel of Thomas," in *A Teacher of the True Faith* (ed. W. R. Brookman and E. R. Freeman; 2 vols. Minneapolis, 1983), 1:191–201.

²⁵⁵ Ibid, 196–98.

scholars have noted, the threefold repetition of a key event is a common literary device, particularly in folktales.²⁵⁷

If the earliest compositional stage of IGT did indeed contain all three *Teacher* episodes, then the gospel writer, or compiler, appears to have put more thought into the collection and arrangement of the tales than many previous scholars were prepared to admit. That the author of IGT was possessed of some literary talent was confirmed in the essays on the language of *Ga* and *Gb* appended to A. Fuchs' and F. Weißengruber's concordance published in 1978.²⁵⁸ The authors/redactors of both versions, Weißengruber asserted, were skilled in the Koine of their time, and even demonstrate "ein 'naiv-anschauliches Erzählertalent.'"²⁵⁹ Several other scholars wrote in support of such an assessment.²⁶⁰ Their admissions came as a welcome change from previous characterizations of the language as "barbarous,"²⁶¹ or "trivial" and "platt."²⁶² Of course, the text had not changed, but attitudes had. Scholars were beginning to set aside their distaste for IGT's portrayal of Jesus and to see IGT though ancient, not modern, eyes.

The question of IGT's provenance also was revisited in this period. Buddhist parallels to noncanonical and canonical gospels, believed so significant at the beginning of the century, had scarcely been discussed since the advent of the first world war. But

²⁵⁶ Paul Allan Mirecki, "Thomas, Infancy Gospel of."

²⁵⁷ See Gero, "The Infancy Gospel of Thomas," 63; and Dennis R. MacDonald, *The Legend and the Apostle: The Battle for Paul in Story and Canon* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983), 26–34.

²⁵⁸ A. Fuchs and F. Weißengruber, *Konkordanz zum Thomasevangelium, Version A und B* (SNTSU 4; Freistadt: Plöchl, 1978).

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 247.

²⁶⁰ As early as Meyer's 1904 "Erzählung des Thomas" (65–66) and increasingly after Cullmann, "Infancy Gospels¹," 392.

²⁶¹ Ellicott, "Apocryphal Gospels," 193.

they were dusted off and presented anew by Zacharias Thundy in a 1989 article²⁶³ and a book, *Buddha and Christ*, in 1993. Like Ernst Kuhn and others before him, Thundy believed Christianity drew upon Buddhist stories and concepts brought to the West via oral transmission.²⁶⁴ IGT, which “uses the Buddhist material extensively,”²⁶⁵ shows evidence of contact in both the *Teacher* episode (excerpted by Thundy from the *Lalitavistara* and another version)²⁶⁶ and in IGT’s version of *Jesus in the Temple*.²⁶⁷ These Indian parallels continue to be important in tracing the geographical origin of the gospel. Together with the Thomas attribution, they have been cited again and again as evidence of Eastern, i.e. Syrian, composition,²⁶⁸ despite Gero’s assertion that the claim of authorship is a late, and non-Syrian, development. The perplexing issue of authorship was confronted in my own 1998 article, “Authorship and Identity in the *Infancy Gospel*

²⁶² Bardenhewer, *Geschichte*, 1:531.

²⁶³ Zacharias P. Thundy, “Intertextuality, Buddhism and the Infancy Gospels,” in *Religious Writings and Religious Systems* (ed. Jacob Neusner et al.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 1:17–73.

²⁶⁴ Thundy, *Buddha and Christ*, 49, 73.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 147.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 120–22. Thundy excerpted the texts from Samuel Beal, *Dhammapada with Accompanying Narratives* (Calcutta, 1952), 69–70; and Rajendralala Mitra, *The Lalitavistara* (Calcutta, 1987), 192.

²⁶⁷ Thundy’s parallel to the *Temple* episode is really the conflation of a story of the young Buddha fleeing from his nurses in order to meditate and another where the twelve-year-old Buddha reveals his extraordinary compassion (*Buddha and Christ*, 118). IGT’s version of the story is considered more dependent on the Buddhist material because the Buddha is more precocious than Luke’s Jesus.

²⁶⁸ Nicolas, *Études*, 199; Meyer, “Erzählung des Thomas,” 65 and “Kindheitserzählung des Thomas²,” 94–95; Ron Cameron, *The Other Gospels: Non-Canonical Gospel Texts* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1982), 122; Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 69. The identification of Thomas literature with Syria is best known from the argument of Helmut Koester, “ΓΝΩΜΑΙ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΟΙ: The Origin and Nature of Diversification in the History of Early Christianity,” *HTR* 58 (1965): 290–93; and *idem*, *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1990), 79. IGT, however, he considered a “non-Edessene” Thomas text (“ΓΝΩΜΑΙ,” 292).

of *Thomas*.”²⁶⁹ Here, I too suggested a Syro-Palestinian origin for the text because of similarities between the cursing episodes and Theodoret’s stories of Antiochean holy men (*Phil. hist.*),²⁷⁰ and because of affinities between the speech in *Ga* 6 and the christological conflict between early John- and Thomas-affiliated groups.²⁷¹ IGT’s association with the apostle Thomas, I claimed, began prior to the development of Thomas traditions in *Gos. Thom.* and *Acts Thom.* but was only later given literary form. In retrospect, my argument relied on a poorly-chosen form of the text (principally *Ga* and *Gc*) and led to undeniably speculative conclusions. Yet the article was the first attempt to understand how the name of an apostle associated with heretical groups could have become attached to a text long after such groups used particular apostles’ names to identify their viewpoints. Most importantly, the article illustrated that a connection between IGT and Syria should not be made on the strength of the Thomas attribution alone; nor should it be made strictly on the basis of Indian parallels, for, as Conrady pointed out long ago, geographical proximity is not required for the transmission of ideas.

Recent work on IGT’s Jewish connections provided some balance to arguments of Syrian compositional provenance. In a 1976 article, Brian McNeil noted formal similarities between IGT’s *Teacher* episodes and a fable from the widely-known *Story of*

²⁶⁹ Tony Chartrand-Burke, “Authorship and Identity in *The Infancy Gospel of Thomas*,” *TJT* 14.1 (1998): 27–43.

²⁷⁰ Cursing miracles and other miracles like those in IGT are reportedly performed by James of Nisibis, Theodoret, a second James, Cyrrhus, Palladius, Julian, Peter the Galatian, Maësymas, and Acepsimas. See, Chartrand-Burke, “Authorship and Identity,” 36.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 34–36.

Ahikar (extant in Aramaic, Syriac, and other languages).²⁷² The fable features a teacher's attempts to instruct a wolf in the alphabet. The teacher says "A, B" but the wolf responds with "kid, lamb" (or variants). The theme of the story, wrote McNeil, is that the wolf is "of a quite different order of being."²⁷³ The same point is made in the IGT version: "instead of needing to be taught," McNeil commented, "Jesus himself is the one who teaches."²⁷⁴ In the same year as McNeil's article, Belarmino Bagatti presented the first argument for Palestinian origin of IGT since Schonfield in 1940. According to Bagatti, the text was written by Jewish-Christians living in Nazareth. As proof he cited the witness of Antoninus of Placentia (see above 2.1.3.1), IGT's vivid portrayal of rural life,²⁷⁵ and theological similarities between Jesus' behaviour and vengeful miracles performed by OT figures.²⁷⁶ Bagatti's evidence for Jewish provenance is rather weak but the theory was given far stronger support by Craig Evans in his 1992 study *Noncanonical Writings and New Testament Interpretation*.²⁷⁷ Here Evans excerpted two stories of the Galilean Hanina ben Dosa surviving snake bites (*t. Ber.* 3:20; *b. Ber.* 33a; cf. *Ga* 16) and one in which the rabbi stretches beams for a roof (*b. Ta'an.* 25a; cf. *Ga* 13).²⁷⁸ In a related discussion to the argument of Jewish provenance, Stephen Wilson suggested in 1995's *Related Strangers* that IGT reflects disputes between Jews and Christians.²⁷⁹

²⁷² Brian McNeil, "Jesus and the Alphabet," *JTS* 27 (1976): 126–28.

²⁷³ McNeil, "Jesus and the Alphabet," 128.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁵ Bagatti, "Nota," 486–87.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 484–85.

²⁷⁷ Craig A. Evans, *Noncanonical Writings and New Testament Interpretation* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1992).

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 234.

²⁷⁹ Stephen G. Wilson, *Related Strangers: Jews and Christians 70–170 C.E.* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995).

Wilson saw evidence of these disputes in the stories where the Jews are made to concede that Jesus is divinely inspired. He added, however, that Jews were not alone in making such arguments against Christianity, and that the antagonists of the tales may be cast as Jews merely for the sake of verisimilitude.²⁸⁰ The possibility of a Jewish environment for IGT's composition still remains largely unexplored. But the evidence for contact with Jewish literature and personalities—including the parallels noted by Evans, McNeil, Neusner, and K. H. Kuhn, the similarities to tales of irascible Palestinian holy men, and hints of Jew/Christian conflict—presents a serious challenge to the prevailing belief that the text contains no knowledge of Judaism.

One other obvious, yet overlooked, parallel also received attention in this period: Luke's *Temple* story. The two versions of the tale were compared by G. Schmal (1974) and J. de Jonge (1978).²⁸¹ Schmal called IGT's reliance on Luke "einen eindeutigen Schluß."²⁸² The same conclusion was reached by de Jonge, though, unlike Schmal, he proved his argument by citing evidence of Lukan redaction in IGT.²⁸³ Schmal and de Jonge's position on dependency comes as no surprise; they merely stated explicitly what all other scholars, save perhaps Conrady, have always believed to be so.

The studies on the witnesses to the short recension and the various non-Christian parallels to the tales, while undeniably important for understanding the origins and development of IGT, nevertheless were rarely acknowledged in the NT Apocrypha

²⁸⁰ Ibid, 84.

²⁸¹ G. Schmal, "Lk 2, 41–52 und die Kindheitserzählung des Thomas 19, 1–5: Ein Vergleich." *BibLeb* 15 (1974): 249–58; J. de Jonge, "Sonship, Wisdom, Infancy: Luke 2:41–51a," *NTS* 24 (1978): 317–54.

²⁸² Schmal, "Lk 2, 41–52," 252.

²⁸³ "Sonship, Wisdom, Infancy," 347–48.

collections of the period. The texts of *Ga*, *Gb*, and *Lt* retained their appeal in editions and translations despite van Rompay's and Gero's assertions regarding the value of the early versions.²⁸⁴ Even *Gc* continued to be routinely ignored.²⁸⁵ One notable exception to this neglect of the versions can be found in Stephen Gero's overview of recent NT Apocrypha research for *ANRW* in 1988.²⁸⁶ His discussion of IGT not only detailed the latest advances in text-criticism but also offered a summary of the text based not on *Ga*, but on *SyrW*.²⁸⁷ Just as the form of IGT used in the collections reflected old scholarship, the discussions on the gospel's origins also repeated the theories of the past. German scholars such as Philipp Vielhauer,²⁸⁸ Alfred Schindler,²⁸⁹ and Walter Rebell,²⁹⁰ heavily

²⁸⁴ Starowieysky (*Apokryfy Nowego Testamentu*, 1:254–58 [introduction], 1:258–76 [texts]) and Erbetta (*Gli Apocrifi*, 1.2:78–83 [introduction], 1.2:83–101 [texts]), following convention, translated *Ga*, *Gb*, and *Lt*. To Starowieysky's credit, however, he also added appendices featuring *Jesus Rides the Sunbeam*, *Jesus Turns Jewish Children into Swine*, *Jesus and the Dyer*, and *Jesus and the Temple of Idols*. Robert Funk (*New Gospel Parallels*, Vol. 2, *John and the Other Gospels* [2 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985] and David L. Dungan and David R. Cartlidge (*Sourcebook of Texts for the Comparative Study of the Gospels* [Missoula, Mont.: University of Montana Printing Department, 1971], 41–48) translated only Tischendorf's edition of *Ga*. Cameron (*The Other Gospels*, 124–29) merely translated Cullmann's text from "Infancy Gospels" into English.

²⁸⁵ The continued neglect of this text is no more apparent than in its absence from Fuchs and Weißengruber's concordance.

²⁸⁶ Stephen Gero, "Apocryphal Gospels: A Survey of Textual and Literary Problems," *ANRW* 2.25.2: 3969–96.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 3981–83.

²⁸⁸ Philipp Vielhauer, *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur* (New York: De Gruyter, 1975), 672–77.

²⁸⁹ Alfred Schindler, *Apokryphen zum Alten und Neuen Testament* (Zürich: Manesse, 1988), 439–41 (introduction), 443–60 (text). Schindler's brief introductory remarks, while familiar, offer no clues as to the scholarship upon which he drew. But his scant bibliography and German translation, taken directly from Cullmann, "Infancy Gospels¹," make it clear enough that his knowledge of the literature was limited.

²⁹⁰ Walter Rebell, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen und apostolische Väter* (Munich: Kaiser, 1992), 132–36. In addition to the typical theories about IGT supported by German scholars, Rebell claimed IGT was written to inject into Christian mythology the

influenced by Meyer and Cullmann, remained fixated on the now-groundless theory of gnostic composition and expurgation. Cullmann himself changed his opinions very little in the intervening years between his first and second entries for the influential Hennecke-Schneemelcher collection.²⁹¹ The only material difference in the 1991 edition was Cullmann's incorporation of de Santos' retroversion—readings from *SI* were featured prominently in his notes to the text, and pushed *SyrW*'s version of chapter six into the appendices. The devastating critiques of de Santos' work appear to have had little affect on Cullmann. Perhaps his faith in *Kirchenslavische* can be attributed to de Santos' claim that *SI* better represents the original gnostic text, a claim that fully supports the German-favoured theory of the text's heretical origins.²⁹² Of all the scholars who wrote in German in this period, only one, R. McL. Wilson, offered a dissenting voice.²⁹³ Informed by the post-Nag Hammadi re-evaluations of Gnosticism, Wilson pointed out that IGT was composed in a time when there was little differentiation between "gnostic" and "orthodox" concepts.²⁹⁴

French and English studies of IGT also reflected the influence of their own respective scholarly traditions. Christian Bigaré, in a brief overview of noncanonical literature in his 1977 *Introduction à la Bible*, ascribed to IGT a fifth-century origin.²⁹⁵ This dating, though unacknowledged, was likely based on the work of Peeters. J.-M.

archetype of the Trickster. The Christian system, he wrote, needed the element of absurdity that IGT's unpredictable, mischievous Jesus provides. If nothing else, Rebell's argument is refreshingly unorthodox.

²⁹¹ Oscar Cullmann, "Infancy Gospels²," 439–43 (introduction), 444–53 (text).

²⁹² See the discussion of *SI* in *ibid*, 440–41.

²⁹³ R. McL. Wilson, "Apokryphen, II: Apokryphen des Neuen Testaments," *TRE* 3:316–62.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 334–36.

Prieur, too, seems to have supported Peeters' Syro-Arabian hypothesis, but his contribution to the text, a 1976 article intended to introduce general readers to the apocryphal gospels, is so brief that his allegiances are difficult to determine.²⁹⁶ A similarly-aimed introductory article by François Bovon in 1980 was actually more in tune with German scholarship than with the French.²⁹⁷ Bovon considered IGT to be a second-century text purged of most of its gnostic traits.²⁹⁸ Where Bigaré and Prieur drew upon Peeters, J. K. Elliott drew upon his predecessor M. R. James for the 1993 update of *The Apocryphal New Testament*. Elliott appears to have read recent scholarship on the text—his section bibliography is quite complete—but he did not assimilate it. His introduction is riddled with unclear and inconsistent descriptions of the versions,²⁹⁹ and his text is merely a new translation of the versions printed by James: *Ga*, *Gb* and *Lt* (albeit, this time, the Egyptian Prologue only). Furthermore, Elliott's treatment of the "Gospel of Thomas" testimonies reads more like scholarship of the nineteenth, not the twentieth, century.

Though IGT languished in the NT Apocrypha collections, it thrived in several articles and books dedicated to its text-critical problems. The nineties saw the publication of two new witnesses to the versions, the evaluation of several long-neglected Greek MSS, a new critical edition of the Slavonic tradition, and important new developments in

²⁹⁵ Bigaré, "L'achèvement des Écritures," 195.

²⁹⁶ J.-M. Prieur, "Les évangiles apocryphes," *Positions luthériennes* 114 (1976): 82.

²⁹⁷ François Bovon, "Évangiles canoniques et évangiles apocryphes: La naissance et l'enfance de Jésus," *Bulletin des facultés catholiques de Lyon* 58 (1980): 19–30.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 25–26.

²⁹⁹ Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 68–71. For example: *SyrW* was said by Elliott to be "close to Greek A" yet somehow "independent" of the Greek tradition behind *Ga*, *Gb*, *Gc*, *Lt*, and *Sl*.

the recovery of the original text. The first of the newly-published witnesses is actually not new at all. *SyrG*, used by Meyer in his 1924 translation of IGT, finally saw publication in a 1993 article by W. Baars and J. Heldermann.³⁰⁰ The two authors used the MS as a springboard for an investigation into IGT's supposed gnostic contents. While the scope of their discussion on previous scholarship was rather limited—it relied heavily on Conrady and Meyer—the text was submitted to the kind of detailed analysis sorely missing in de Santos' earlier attempt at proving gnostic composition. Nevertheless, Baars and Heldermann's "gnostic" parallels are as unconvincing as those noted by their predecessors and again demonstrate an outdated and overly rigid definition of Gnosticism. So, despite the lofty title of the article, there is actually little that was new in these "neue Materielen"; even the long-awaited collation of *SyrG* merely showed the MS to be at times only slightly better than Wright's MS.

The second of the new witnesses is an Arabic version of IGT. This text was first mentioned, though vaguely, by Gero in 1988.³⁰¹ A year later Luigi Moraldi identified the source as a Milanese MS (Biblioteca Ambrosiana, *G II sup*) and believed he had found in it the ancestor of *Eth*.³⁰² In fact, the two versions are not that closely related. Readers were able to evaluate the evidence for themselves when Sergio Noja presented an edition

³⁰⁰ Baars and Heldermann, "Neue Materielen." *SyrG* is found collated against *SyrW* on pp. 194–97.

³⁰¹ Stephen Gero, "Apocryphal Gospels," 3982. No MS is listed; Gero mentioned only that the text is extant in Arabic and that it was unedited.

³⁰² Luigi Moraldi, *Nascita e infanzia di Gesù nei più antichi codici cristiani* (Milan: Jacabook, 1989), 50; and idem, *Vangelo arabo apocrifo dell'apostolo Giovanni da un Manoscritto della Biblioteca Ambrosiana* (Milan: Jacabook, 1991), 28.

of the MS, first in English translation in 1990, then the Arabic original in 1991.³⁰³ The text is likely a heavily-altered descendant of the Syriac tradition. In form it follows the shorter recension, but lacks sections from *Ga* 6 and 7 and the entire chapters 12, 15 and 19. It also includes two additional stories: *Jesus and the Dyer* and a tale similar to *Jesus Turns Jewish Children into Swine*. While the Arabic version is useful for understanding the later paths taken in IGT's transmission history, it is of little value for reconstructing the earliest form of the Syriac branch. Noja, however, believed differently. In his brief discussion on the new version, Noja speculated that the *Swine* variant once belonged to the original text.³⁰⁴

The branch of the tradition that has enjoyed the most dramatic scholarly advances in recent years is the Slavonic. In the decades immediately following the publication of de Santos' *Kirchenslavische*, text-critical work on *Sl* progressed very little. De Santos returned to the text to list its various MSS in the 1981 volume of *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der altslavischen Apokryphen*.³⁰⁵ But another ten years passed before anyone again tackled the material. Then G. Krastev contributed the first commentary on

³⁰³ Sergio Noja, "L'Évangile arabe apocryphe de Thomas, de la 'Biblioteca Ambrosiana' de Milan (G 11 sup)," in *Biblische und Judistische Studien: Festschrift für Paolo Sacchi* (ed. Angelo Vivian; Judentum und Umwelt 29; Paris: Peter Lang, 1990), 681–90; idem, "À propos du texte arabe d'un évangile apocryphe de Thomas de la Ambrosiana de Milan," in *YAD-NAMA: im memoria di Alessandro Bausani* (eds. Biancamana Scarcia Amoretti and Lucia Rostagno; 2 vols.; Roma: Bardi Editore, 1991), 1:335–41).

³⁰⁴ Noja, "L'Évangile arabe," 682.

³⁰⁵ Aurelio de Santos Otero, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der altslavischen Apokryphen* (2 vols.; PTS 20 and 23; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978 and 1981), 2:49–54. The error-ridden list was corrected in a review by F. J. Thomson, *The Slavonic and East European Review* 63.1 (1985): 73–98.

the Slavonic text.³⁰⁶ In Krastev's view, all of the episodes are variants of the same theme: the incarnation of logos. He claimed also that IGT was originally a polemical, apologetic work targeted against Jews, a fact, he said, which would have made it particularly attractive to the anti-Semitic Bogomils who he felt were responsible for its dissemination in the Slavic milieu. Krastev's work was followed in 1997 by Thomas Rosén's published dissertation *The Slavonic Translation of the Apocryphal Infancy Gospel of Thomas*. This critical edition succeeded in many areas where *Kirchenslavische* failed: it featured comprehensive information on all of the extant witnesses, separate editions of both the medieval and the Ukrainian MSS,³⁰⁷ and a new examination of the translation's origin based on select passages (*Ga* 5, 6, 16, 17 and 18). Like de Santos, Rosén used *J* (Middle Bulgarian) as his base MS, but where *J* suffers from damage, he supplemented its readings with *X*, a Serbian MS available to de Santos only through quotations by earlier scholars. Rosén's text is vastly different from that of de Santos, however, as Rosén did not see his task as to recover *SI*'s Greek *Vorlage* but to present an edition of the Slavonic material for its own merits. Nevertheless, his conclusions on *SI*'s origins did not differ widely from those of de Santos. The corpus of MSS, he wrote, goes back to a single translation of a Greek MS that also contained the stories of *Jesus Destroys a Temple of Idols*, and *Jesus Heals a Man's Eye*.³⁰⁸ Based on the literal style of translation, Rosén believed the text entered the Slavic milieu sometime between 975 and about 1025, and

³⁰⁶ G. Krastev, "The Place of Jesus' Childhood in Early Christian Tradition and the Apocryphal Literature of Medieval Bulgaria" (in Bulgarian), *Palaeobulgarica* 15.3 (1991): 91–101. For an English summary see Rosén, *The Slavonic Translation*, 25.

³⁰⁷ Rosén, *The Slavonic Translation*, 48–77 (medieval MSS), 78–97 (Ukrainian MSS). The Ukrainian MSS were neglected by de Santos as he felt they were too recent.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 45.

likely in Bulgaria.³⁰⁹ The only deficiency in Rosén's study is its lack of a translation into a Western language; Slavistics experts will certainly benefit from Rosén's work, but scholars of early Christianity will be at considerable disadvantage. They also should be challenged by Rosén's outstanding knowledge of the Greek tradition. Where the contributors to NT Apocrypha editions and collections avoided dealing with the growing body of unpublished MSS, Rosén utilized almost all of them and even noted an additional MS for the first time (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *Cod. theol. Gr 123*; 13th c.; =T).³¹⁰

The overview of scholarship now brings us to the scholar who succeeded at synthesizing the IGT evidence more than any of his peers: Sever Voicu, the preeminent voice in IGT scholarship. His first study of the text, "Notes" in 1991, affirmed van Rompay's argument for an early, shorter recension of the text. This recension is best represented, Voicu argued, in *Eth*. As evidence he cited both *Eth*'s unique placement of *The Miraculous Harvest* (indicating, perhaps, that the episode is not original to the text) and *Eth*'s less marvelous reading of *Jesus Stretches a Beam*. "Notes" also featured the first in-depth discussion of the eleventh-century Greek MS *H* (*Saba* 259), here assigned its own recension: *Gs*. Voicu's synoptic table of the evidence illustrated that *Gs* stands at an intermediary stage between the early versions and the later Greek MSS: it lacks *Ga* 17 and 18 but contains *Ga* 1 and 10, though ch. 10 is placed between 16 and 19.³¹¹ Voicu's theory of transmission was put to the test in his second work on the text: a French

³⁰⁹ Ibid, 164–66.

³¹⁰ Rosén was aware but unable to obtain copies of *L* (Athos, *Lavra* Θ 222) and *R* (Vat. *Palat. Gr* 364).

³¹¹ Voicu, "Notes," 128–29.

translation of IGT for the 1997 collection *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*.³¹² Unlike all previous translators of the gospel, Voicu based his text on *Eth* and *Syr*. He promised at the time to provide full justification for his position in a forthcoming “critical synopsis” of the text. A year later, Voicu delivered on his promise with the article “Verso.” In it he provided readings from all the published MSS of the text as well as readings from *Gs*. Included also are a comprehensive discussion of the witnesses, a comparison of the Latin versions clearly demonstrating the relationship between *Lm* and *Lv*,³¹³ and a consideration of the text’s putative origins (by second-/third-century Syro-Palestinian Ebionites). “Verso” is undeniably the most thorough study of IGT to appear since Gero’s seminal 1971 article. Yet, as useful a tool as “Verso” is, its treatment of the Greek evidence suffers from some critical flaws. First, there is no discussion of the remaining unpublished Greek MSS except, that is, for the brief mention of an additional witness to *Gb* (Mount Sinai, M. Ag. Ekaterines, *Cod. Sinaiticus Gr* 532; 14–17th c.; =C) noted previously in the little-seen 1993 edition of *Bulletin de l’AELAC*;³¹⁴ Voicu even failed to note another IGT MS (Samos, Bibliothek Metropoleos, *MS Gr* 54; 15th c.; =M) discussed in the same article. The second flaw of “Verso” is its inadequate treatment of *Gs*. This important new MS is poorly represented in his synopsis, with some readings missing and some misrepresented. And third, the readings from the remainder of the Greek witnesses were taken from previously published editions, a practice which is particularly

³¹² Sever J. Voicu, “Histoire de l’Enfance de Jésus,” in *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens* (eds. François Bovon and Pierre Geoltrain; Paris: Gallimard, 1997–), 1:191–96 (introduction), 197–204 (text).

³¹³ Voicu, “Verso,” 45–53.

³¹⁴ C was mentioned in an overview of new Greek MSS of the NT Apocrypha by Paul Géhin (“Heuristique des manuscrits grecs,” *Bulletin de l’AELAC* 3 [1993]: 14).

problematic for *Ga* as it results in the neglect of the recension's individual witnesses (*P* and *O* must be evaluated separately from *B* and *D*).

Despite Voicu's assertions about the value of *Eth*, scholars will always prefer to work on early Christian Greek texts in their original language. Those who contributed critical editions of IGT after Voicu's first study on the text acknowledged the importance of the article's conclusions but nevertheless relied almost solely on the Greek evidence. Regrettably, they also made little effort to integrate the important unpublished Greek MSS into their texts. The first of these editions was Gerhard Schneider's 1995 collection of infancy gospels.³¹⁵ It begins well, with a detailed introduction offering a competent overview of the many sources for IGT, including brief mentions of *V*, *R*, and *H*, but not *Ir* nor the new Arabic text. Schneider also reproduced the comparison tables of the witnesses from Voicu's "Notes" and agreed with Voicu's conclusions on the original form of the gospel.³¹⁶ Yet, the Greek text included in the volume was based on Tischendorf's *Ga*, ignored *Gc*, and, for its non-Greek variants, referred only to *Lt*, *Sl*, and *SyrW*. Furthermore, none of these versions were used to provide the missing chapter six material. Schneider's edition teased readers with mentions of new MSS and Voicu's conclusions but failed to deliver a text that reflects these advances. Even Schneider's commentary merely repeated the prevailing German opinions on the text.³¹⁷ The second of the new Greek editions was that of Ronald Hock in 1997.³¹⁸ Though aware of the work

³¹⁵ Schneider, *Apokryphe Kindheitsevangelien*, 34–47 (introduction), 148–71 (text).

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 42–47.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 38. Schneider believed, mostly on the strength of the "Gospel of Thomas" testimonies, that the text was originally gnostic and that much of its gnostic material was removed.

³¹⁸ Hock, *The Infancy Gospels*, 83–103 (introduction), 104–43 (text and translation).

of Voicu and of Noret's list of unpublished Greek MSS, Hock too made no attempt at integrating this material into his edition. However, he did justify his actions:

The intentions of this text are modest: not to claim to offer the earliest text—that, as we have seen, awaits a thorough collation of the published and unpublished Greek texts and of the versions—but merely to present a text and apparatus that the reader can use, and therefore be more aware of the numerous variants that exist and hence very much aware of how insecure the text of any one passage might be.³¹⁹

Hock delivered on that promise by offering a text based on *Ga* and with an apparatus featuring readings from *Gb*, *Gc*, *Greek-Slav* (de Santos' retroversion), and, on occasion, *Lt* and *SyrW*. For chapter six, Hock switched his base text to *Gc*, producing a hybrid text which awkwardly combined two very distinct styles of writing. Nevertheless, Hock's edition was a distinct improvement over many previous editions, primarily because it offered a far more "user-friendly" text. His commentary represented also the zenith for IGT scholarship. He dismissed ties to *Gos. Thom.* and Gnosticism, favouring instead comparisons to ancient biographical literature. Readers of ancient biographies, he noted, would not expect to see development in the subject's personality, for "character was assumed to have been fixed at birth."³²⁰ IGT's fully mature Jesus, therefore, is not a reflection of gnostic christology after all. Of particular interest in Hock's commentary is his comparison of Zacchaeus' lament (*Ga* 7) with the literary form ῥητοποιία or "speech-in-character."³²¹ IGT's use of this form adds weight to previous claims for the text's literary sophistication.

³¹⁹ Ibid, 101.

³²⁰ Ibid, 96.

³²¹ Ibid, 94–95.

The editors of these two recent editions, and many other scholars before them, mourned the lack of a complete evaluation of the witnesses to IGT. But it seems to be a task that few are willing to undertake. Until an edition is produced which can surpass the esteem of Tischendorf's, his text will continue to hold sway. This situation is unfortunate, especially since his late, expanded, and mutilated form of the text is that most often reproduced in NT Apocrypha collections and introductory studies of noncanonical material,³²² and it continues to serve as the primary source for much of the minor pieces of scholarship on the text.³²³ Small wonder, then, that so much of this work is misinformed.

2.7 Assessment.

The history of scholarship on IGT follows a rather uneven path. Early MS discoveries were greeted with excitement as scholars attempted to place the text within

³²² See, for example, the second edition of David R. Cartlidge and David L. Dungan's sourcebook (*Documents for the Study of the Gospels* [2d ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994], 86–90) which merely translates Tischendorf. Their translation was later used by Bart Ehrman in the collection of supplementary readings to his well-received NT introduction textbook (*The New Testament and Other Early Christian Writings: A Reader* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1998], 127–30). Books such as these are often readers' first look at IGT; it is unfortunate that the text they see is well over a hundred years out of date.

³²³ These include four recent apocryphal "lives" of Jesus by Belamino Bagatti and Florentino García (*La Vida de Jesús en los Apócrifos del Nuevo Testamento* [Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1978], 36–44), J. K. Elliott (*The Apocryphal Jesus: Legends of the Early Church* [Oxford University Press, 1996], 19–30), Alfred Läßle (*Außerbiblische Jesusgeschichten: Ein Plädoyer für die Apokryphen* [Munich: Don Bosco Verlag, 1983], 85–90), and R. Joseph Hoffmann (*The Secret Gospels: A Harmony of Apocryphal Jesus Traditions* [Amherst: Prometheus Books, 1996], 95–109), and a

the history of the Church's struggle with heresy. Unfortunately, those early efforts quickly took a wrong turn. Eager to connect the childhood tales to names of heretical texts and heretical groups, scholars erroneously identified IGT as the "Gospel of Thomas" associated with gnostic Christianity. All subsequent work on the childhood tales has been affected by this fatal, yet understandable, error. The most significant outcome of the misidentification was the creation of the expurgation theory. Doubtless the belief that one day a MS would be discovered containing a longer, more obviously gnostic version of the text prevented the serious study of witnesses that did not conform to this expectation. Such important evidence as *Syr*, *Lv*, and *Eth*, today considered the prime witnesses to the original form of the text, were consistently overlooked as secondary, even abbreviated, sources. And while scholars waited for a MS that would never come, the text itself—its structure, themes, literary affinities, and language—was left unexamined. Very early in the study of IGT, scholarship miscarried. And it continues to suffer through a long, painful recovery.

Though seriously neglected, IGT still managed to find its way into several of the major trends in nineteenth-century scholarship. Like other Christian literature, both canonical and noncanonical, it was discussed in connection with literary borrowing between Christians and Buddhists or Christians and Hindus, and noted, but quickly dismissed, as a source for constructing biographies of the historical Jesus. Ultimately, these discussions served only to emphasize, in scholars' minds, how different IGT is from other Jesus texts, how bizarre and distasteful are its stories, and how utterly alien is

particularly poorly informed dictionary article by Everret Ferguson ("Gospel of Thomas [Infancy]," *EEC* 2:478).

its portrayal of Jesus. IGT thus became a prime target for those eager to heap insults against apocryphal literature or heretics generally.

The belief that IGT once contained gnostic material also led to the automatic dismissal of rival theories of its origins. Scholars as early as Nicolas and Variot in the late nineteenth century noted possible connections with Jewish literature and personalities as well as Jewish-Christianity. Variot even vaguely situated the text within a genre of literature: childhood tales which foreshadow the subject's later accomplishments. Unfortunately, the theory of gnostic composition had the ancient testimonies for its support; even Variot and Nicolas had to admit that gnostics tampered with the text. With so many voices affirming the text's gnostic connections, it is little wonder that IGT was so often labeled derivative of the NT, Gentile in its origins, and heretical in its christology.

With the discovery of *Gos. Thom.*, IGT scholarship changed course. Interest in the text quickly waned. If it could not be proven gnostic, then apparently it was not worthy of attention. Such reluctance to deal with the text in any great depth doubtless has contributed to the survival of the expurgation theory and its byproducts. Nevertheless, a handful of scholars have struggled against the weight of the obsolete assessments of IGT to present contrary viewpoints which allow the MS evidence for the gospel speak for itself. The results have shown convincingly that the gospel was not once a longer text; indeed, it has been expanded, not shortened, over the centuries. These scholars have re-evaluated also the possibility of Jewish influence on the text's composition, and begun to consider its place among ancient literature. Unfortunately, much of this work has made little impact on general discussions of the gospel and has yet to break the stranglehold of

Tischendorf's *textus receptus*. Part of the problem may lie in the inaccessibility of some of the witnesses—Syriac, Ethiopian, and Georgian. Few scholars in the discipline can boast of a command of any one of these languages, never mind all three. The complexities of the MS tradition have prevented scholars not only from attempting to reconstruct the original text but also from believing the tradition stable enough for a reconstruction to be possible. And without a text, nothing substantial can be said about its contents.

The immediate goals for the study of IGT must be to establish a firm text-critical foundation and from there to begin the process of determining its origins. The Greek branch of the tradition has much to offer in realizing these goals. Research on the Greek MSS of IGT has been stalled for some time. As early as 1890, scholars knew of at least one Greek MS which includes material lacking in Tischendorf's witnesses. Yet no-one has made an effort to present it to scholars. Another witness, *H*, the earliest of the Greek MSS, was first noted in scholarship in 1969, and later described in 1991 as an excellent witness to the short form of the text. It, too, has remained unpublished. The resistance to the study of the Greek tradition is baffling, particularly since the vast majority of scholars of the text believe Greek to be IGT's language of composition. A complete study of the Greek witnesses to IGT is essential for understanding not only the original form of the text but also for understanding its later transmission history. And with a better text comes the opportunity to better situate IGT in history.

As for current attitudes toward the text's contents, the characterization of IGT as a heretical, gnostic gospel may be difficult to correct. Its roots likely run deeper than the simple misidentification of IGT as the "Gospel of Thomas." Perhaps there is some

validity to Variot's characterization of German Protestant scholars as eager to ascribe superhuman portrayals of Jesus to heretical groups, though Variot's own haste to attribute IGT's unsavoury portrayal of Jesus to Manichean redaction is doubtless also influenced by his own faith. The real hurdle for changing perceptions of IGT, therefore, may not be the endurance of the erroneous "Gospel of Thomas" connection at all, but the deeper presumptions that scholars bring to the study of this challenging text.

SECTION II

It should be apparent from reading the preceding overview of scholarship that there is much confusion among scholars regarding the origins, form, and nature of IGT. For progress to be made in the study of this text, research must, in essence, begin anew. Only by casting aside the presuppositions of the past—the expurgation theory, and the text’s association with the apostle Thomas and/or the “Gospel of Thomas”—can IGT be set on a firm foundation for the future. The process begins with the establishment of a secure text with which to work. Tischendorf’s edition, which serves as the basis of the vast majority of editions and translations of the gospel, is long out-of-date. Since his work nine additional Greek MSS have been discovered, several of which are far superior to the ones he used. Only one of these new MSS, Delatte’s *A*, has been integrated into the study of the text. Clearly, a new edition combining the evidence from all published and unpublished MSS is sorely needed. The following three chapters help to fill that need. Chapter three features descriptions of all the Greek MSS as well as the versions of the text in non-Greek languages. Chapter four presents two synopses of the evidence: the first features editions of the four distinct Greek recensions of the text, and the second comprises an English translation of *Gs*—considered here the best evidence we have for the original text—noting significant variant readings from the other witnesses. The section concludes with chapter five, a discussion of the important issues surrounding the composition of the text: its original form, date and place of origin, and its transmission history.

CHAPTER 3

Description of the Manuscripts

3.1 The Greek MSS.

3.1.1 Group S

H Jerusalem, Bibliotheke tou Patriarcheiou, *Cod. Saba* 259 (fols. 66r–72r), parch., 260 × 212 mm, 317 fols., 1089/90.¹

Catalogue: A. Papadopoulos-Kérameus, 'Ιεροσολυμιτική βιβλιοθήκη ἤτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων (3 vols; 1894; repr., Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1963), 1:384–88.

Major study: C. N. Constantinides and R. Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 30; Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, and Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1993), 63–68.

Contents: *Thomas Intro + Ga 2–5, 6 (with speech), 7–9, 11–16, 10, 19 (truncated).*

This well-preserved, dated MS is the earliest extant Greek manuscript evidence of IGT and the only witness to the *Gs* recension. The gospel is found here amongst homilies and hagiographical texts. Several scribal notes in the MS document its travels. One such note, a colophon found on the verso of the final page and written in a sixteenth-century hand, reveals the date and location of its origin—namely, the village of Vavlas in Cyprus.² The MS is written in a single hand, identified in the colophon as the monk Gerasimos. Damage to the MS is minimal: 19 folios are missing, the MS has holes on several pages before writing (68, 69, and 70 of the IGT folios), and the outer columns of

¹ A microfilm of this MS was supplied by the Library of Congress.

² See Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ιεροσολυμιτική βιβλιοθήκη, 1:385 and Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, 63–68.

folios 72 and 144 are missing, resulting in the loss of several words in IGT's concluding doxology.³ In a note by a later hand added to the first several folios (66v–68r) of IGT, the text is identified, via Cyril of Jerusalem, as a heretical gospel valued by the Manicheans (see 2.1.4.2 above) and, like John Chrysostom and Epiphanius (see above 2.1.2.3–4), the writer discredits the text on the grounds that Jesus performed no miracles before his appearance at Cana (John 2:1–11).⁴ Though the writer of the marginal note had little appreciation for the text, the eleventh-century copyist acknowledged its religious, and perhaps even contemplative, importance by adding a short invocation after the title: εὐλόγησον δεσπότη (‘‘give your blessing, Lord’’).

The copyist of *H* appears to have had limited proficiency in Greek. Spelling mistakes abound in IGT. Most of these result from vowel confusion (inconsistent interchanges between ω and ο, αι and ε, η and ει, ι and η; substituting οι for υ), as well as other occasional errors of assimilation and word confusion. The spelling errors likely resulted from the aural copying of the text (consider τί γὰρ οὖν for τοιγαροῦν, 7:4). The scribe was also unfamiliar with rules of accent. Fortunately, however, Gerasimos seems to have made few critical mistakes in his task. There are no observable incidences of homoeoteleuton or other evidence of lacunae in the tradition. However, on one occasion a word seems to have been omitted by the copyist (*Gs* 7:2) and several readings unique to the MS remain difficult to decipher (*Gs* 4:1; 5:1; 6:2, 4; 15:1; 16:1).

Though previously unpublished, *H*'s version of IGT has not gone unnoticed in scholarship. It was first mentioned in 1969 by van Esbroeck as a witness that Tischendorf

³ See Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, 67.

⁴ The note is reproduced in *ibid.*

“ignorait.”⁵ Three years later it appeared in Noret’s list of IGT MSS. Noret’s collation of *H*, though never published, was subsequently used by Voicu in his work on the text. Besides Voicu, the only other scholar to have utilized the MS is Rosén, and even then only peripherally.⁶ Discussions of *H* by Geerard and Schneider⁷ were derived from Voicu’s work.

3.1.2 Group A (*BHG* 779p)

The A group of MSS comprises three subgroups: the family of α MSS, the more complete *W* MS, and three other MSS of widely different contents (*VOP*). The four nearly-identical α MSS feature the well-known 19-chapter *textus receptus* of Tischendorf; only two of them, however, are directly connected to one another. The *W* MS, which accords well with the tenth-century *Vorlage* of *Sl*, appears to represent the best witness to the recension. All of the *Ga* MSS, however, share several corruptions: in Jesus’ reaction to his accusers in *Ga* 9:2 (intact in *Sl*; *V* omits the section) and in the crowd’s reaction to Jesus’ teachings in *Ga* 15:2 (again, intact in *Sl*; *V* omits the section). They also share a reading in 9:3.10–11 otherwise paralleled only in *Gb*, and, alone of the Greek witnesses, conclude the story of the *Miraculous Harvest* with the indication of Jesus’ age, reported in all other sources at the start of the following chapter. Though the three *Ga* subgroups often vary significantly from one another, they do represent a family distinct from the *Gb* and *Gc* recensions, and a text closer in language to that of *Gs*.

⁵ Van Esbroeck, review of de Santos, *Kirchenslavische*, 262.

⁶ Rosén discussed *H* in *The Slavonic Translation*, 37 and he claimed to have obtained a copy of the MS, but the nature of his study leaves no room for any extensive treatment of *Gs*.

3.1.2.1 *W* Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *Cod. hist. Gr 91* (fols. 199v–204r), pap., 220/225 × 150 mm, 208 fols., 14/15th c.⁸

Catalogue: H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (4 vols; Vienna: G. Prachner, 1961–1995), 1:94–102.

Contents: *Thomas Intro* + *Ga* 2–5, 6 (including speech), 7–19.

This undated, unpublished MS was previously listed by Noret and used peripherally by Rosén. IGT is found here among NT excerpts, homilies, sermons and other miscellaneous texts, but may be more particularly associated with a group of texts in the MS related to Sinai. The MS is important because it is the most complete form of the *Ga* text available and, given its close agreement with the tenth-century Slavonic translation, represents a text that is four to five centuries earlier than the MS itself. The MS is not without its problems, however; abbreviations are plentiful, vowel confusion common (ω for ο, η for ε), but major errors few—the MS shares the *Ga* corruptions noted above, as well as a lacuna in *Ga* 16. This lacuna goes back at least to *W*'s apograph, for the copyist has signaled the error by placing an abbreviation for σημείωσον (notice) in the margin. A comparison with *Gs*, *Gc*, and the other *Ga* MSS indicates several places where *W* appears to contain secondary readings: a number of significant omissions (1.7-9; 3:1.4/5; 3:3.6–7; 6:2.11/12; 6:2f.15–18; 7:2.3–5); a few of Jesus' apophthegmatic sayings are shortened (2:4; 17:1); and some troublesome variant readings added (7:2.5/6; 10:1.4/5; readings featuring the verb φημί [7:2.1; 9:3.7–9; 14:2.1], a word otherwise unattested in the *Ga* recension). *W* is particularly deficient in *Ga* 19, where it appears to stray from the common *Gs*, *Ga*, and *Gc* tradition more than the other *Ga* MSS. Like *H*, *W*

⁷ *CANT*, 37–39; Schneider, *Apokryphe Kindheitsevangelien*, 42–46.

⁸ Photographs of the MS were furnished by the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

adds an invocation (κύριε εὐλόγησον) after the title. The entire text has been crossed out in the MS, perhaps indicating a later reader's dislike for its contents.

3.1.2.2 *V* Mount Athos, *Cod. Vatopedi* 37 (fols. 21v–28r), pap., 209/212 × 140/144 mm, 272 fols., 14th/16th. c.⁹

Catalogue: Sophronios Eustratiades and Arcadios, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos* (HTS 11; 1924; repr., New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1969), 13–14.¹⁰

Contents: *Thomas intro* + *Ga* 2–5, 6 (with speech), 7–16.

IGT is found here among texts by Chrysostom and Ephrem and an unpublished witness to a section of *Pilate's Letter to Tiberius* (BHG 779xI). The majority of the MS hails from the first half of the fourteenth century, with fols. 9–12 and 267–72 added in the last half of the sixteenth century to supplement sections of texts lost to damage. Several of IGT's pages have also suffered damage: fols. 23 and 24 (parts of *Ga* 5 and 6) contain large holes. *V* was first mentioned in scholarship on IGT by Lipsius in the revised edition of his collection of Apocryphal Acts.¹¹ In his brief note Lipsius revealed that this MS contains a reading of *Ga* 6 longer than those of the published Greek witnesses. This statement has been repeated often,¹² but the MS has not been pursued any further by

⁹ A microfilm of the MS was furnished by the Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies in Thessaloniki.

¹⁰ A new catalog of the Vatopedi MSS (1–100) is being prepared by Erich Lamberz who graciously provided notes on the MS.

¹¹ Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, Ergänzungsband 24. Lüdke ("Die slavischen Texte," 493 n. 1) mentioned a short note on the MS made by V. Istrin in *Zurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosvescenija* 305, June 1896, p. 61. Efforts to obtain a copy of the article have met with no success.

¹² Harnack, *Geschichte*, 1:17; Conrady, "Das Thomasevangelium," 379; Meyer "Kindheitserzählung des Thomas¹," 133; Bardenhewer, *Geschichte*, 1:532; Michel, "Évangile de Thomas," xxiv; Cullmann, "Infancy Gospels¹," 338; Gero, "The Infancy Gospel of Thomas," 49; Noret, "Pour une édition"; Cullman, "Infancy Gospels²," 439; Mirecki, "Thomas," 541; Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 70; Schneider, *Apokryphe Kindheitsevangelium*, 40.

Western scholars. It has been used, however, in work on the Slavonic text by Jacimirskij, Lüdtkke, and Rosén. Jacimirskij compared *V* with Tischendorf's *Ga* text and determined that the MS contains readings closer to those of *Sl*.¹³ Jacimirskij was essentially correct. *V*, along with *WOP*, contains readings superior to α , and even occasionally shares readings with *Sl* absent from or corrupt in *W* (3:1.4/5; 3:3.6/7; 6:2b.16). Often, however, *V* agrees with α against the other *Ga* MSS. Among *V*'s most curious features is its inclusion of three additional words in the letter speculation section (6:4): ἐξέρποντας (found also in *Gs*), ὁμοπαγείς (perhaps related to *Gs*' ὁμοπαγενῆς), and the otherwise unattested παρελθόμενους. Like *H* and *W*, *V* follows the title of the text with an invocation (δεσπότη εὐλόγησον).

The copyist of *V* appears to have made few errors in his task. Vowel confusion occurs occasionally (ω for \omicron , η for $\epsilon\iota$, $\alpha\iota$ for ϵ), but there are no observable major copying errors. Either the copyist or a corrector has made crude corrections of some vowel errors and has placed dots above most of the letter speculation section in ch. 6. The same person may be responsible for crossing out the phrase εἴτε καλὸν εἴτε πονηρὸν (*Ga* 5:2). Such sensitivity to the portrayal of Jesus may also lie behind the erasing of τάχα in 10:2 ("Truly, [perhaps], God dwells in him"), and the omission of Joseph's punishment of Jesus in 5:2. *V* frequently abbreviates within chapters and ends early following *Ga* 16 with a doxology.¹⁴ *V*'s shortening of the text cannot be attributed wholly to distaste for the excised material, for none of the large omissions (part of Jesus' speech

¹³ See the discussion in Lüdtkke, "Die slavischen Texte." Jacimirskij, and Lüdtkke after him, erroneously named the MS *Vatopedi* 36.

in 6:2f.18–27 and much of Zacchaeus' lament in ch. 7; the restoration of Jesus' accusers in 8:2; the flight of the animated birds in 2:4; Jesus as a "small cross" in 6:2a; and Jesus teaching the crowds in 15:2.8–17) portray Jesus in a negative light. It appears that the editor simply wished to create a shorter text.

3.1.2.3 *P* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, *Ancien fond grec 239* (fols. 118v–119v), pap., 215 × 145 mm, 119 fols., 1422/23.¹⁵

Catalogue: François Halkin, *Manuscripts grecs de Paris: Inventaire hagiographique* (Subsidia hagiographica 44; Brussels: Société des Bollandists, 1968), 8.

Contents: *Thomas Intro* + *Ga 2–5, 6 (sections)* + *Jesus and the Dyer (truncated)*.

P holds the distinction of being the first published MS of IGT, though it and *O* have been seriously neglected since the discovery of the α MSS. Simon printed an excerpt from *P* in 1695. A few years later Cotelier provided the complete text. IGT was added in a different hand to the last few folios of the codex which otherwise features only one text: a commentary on Revelation by Andrew, Archbishop of Caesarea (fols. 1r–118r). A blank page separates the two texts. The copyist has made the typical vowel substitutions (α for ϵ , η for $\epsilon\iota$, ω for \omicron), but no observable major errors of omission. The MS is fragmentary—it breaks off in the story of *Jesus and the Dyer* which follows ch. 6—and contains several unique variants: the "withered" boy of *Ga* 3 is restored to health in an epilogue, and *Ga* 6 is drastically shortened and conflated with *Ga* 15. Also noteworthy in this MS is the crossing out of the words $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$ in the title.

¹⁴ Not, as Cullmann ("Infancy Gospels²," 439) says, *Ga* 14. Schneider (*Apokryphe Kindheitsevangeliem*, 40 n. 134) claims the MS contains only chs. 1–4. *V*'s shortened text led Halkin to (prematurely) assign *V* a separate designation from *Ga*: *BHG*⁸ 779pc.

¹⁵ A microfilm of the MS was furnished by the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

3.1.2.4 *O* Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *Phil. Gr 162 (144)* (fols. 180r–187v), pap., 217/220 × 140/145 mm, v + 180 fols., before 1455.

Catalogue: Lambecius, *Commentariorum*, 7:270–73; Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften*, 1:265.

Contents: *Thomas Intro* + *Ga 2:1–2* (remaining contents unknown).

This dated manuscript (see fol. V^v) was brought to light by Lambeck in 1675. Soon after, the IGT folios were removed from the MS and never returned.¹⁶ All that remains of its contents are the excerpts reproduced by Lambeck and used in turn by Thilo and Tischendorf. It can be inferred from the size of the MS and the folio count of the text (roughly equal to *W*) that the version of IGT found here belonged to the *Ga* recension. *O* is significant because it features readings which, along with other *Ga* MSS (*WVP*), are closer to those of *Gs* than those of the *α* MSS.

3.1.2.5 The Subgroup *α*

Contents: *Thomas Intro* + *Ga 2–5, 6 (minus 2a–f), 7–19*.

The four closely-related *α* MSS share a common exemplar and therefore several errors and distinguishing characteristics: they lack much of ch. 6 (numbered 6:2a–f in the synopsis), and contain corrupt words (καταράσσομαι for κάτω ῥύσωμαι, 8:1; γωνία for γειτονία, 10:1) and corrupt sentences (material appears missing in 15:2 and 18:1; the repetition of καὶ ἀκούοντα, 19:2). Only on rare occasions does *α* seem to preserve a reading missing in the other *Ga* Greek MSS (most notably σὸς γάρ εἰμι in 5:3, and the healing of James in 16:2.6).

3.1.2.5.1 *B* Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria *Univ.* 2702 (fols. 76v–87v), pap., 215 × 153 mm, 230 fols., 15th c.¹⁷

Catalogue: C. Samberger, *Catalogi codicum graecorum qui in minoribus bibliotheci italicis asservantur* (2 vols.; Leipzig: Zentral Antiquariat, 1965–1968), 1:412–18.

Published and translated into Latin by Mingarelli in 1764, *B* was scholars' first look at the "complete" text of IGT—i.e., of the longer 19-chapter recension. Mingarelli struggled with *B*'s difficult readings, which include several truncated sentences (in 6:2, 10:2, 15:2 and 15:3, all complete in *D* and *M/L*), misspellings (most significantly οὐκίν [from οὐκ ἦν?] for οὐκ ἔστιν in 7:2; the "spoonerism" ἐπεβάλετο for ἐπελάβετο in 18:1, and the perplexing letter speculation of chapter six. The copying errors, for their part, were corrected when Thilo collated *B* against its "twin" *D*. The MS is well-preserved and IGT is written in a clear, careful hand.

3.1.2.5.2 *D* Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, *A* 187 (part 1, pp. 523–530), pap., 200 × 150 mm, pp. 1092, 16th c.¹⁸

Catalogues: F. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Katalog der Handschriften der königlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden* (4 vols.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1882–1923), 1:80; B. Burgemeister and H. Deckert, *Katalog der Handschriften der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek zu Dresden* (4 vols.; Dresden: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, 1979), 1:80.

Major study: Ernst von Dobschütz, "Eine Sammelhandschrift des 16. Jahrhunderts: Dresden MS. A 187," *ByzZ* 15 (1906): 243–74.

D was published by Thilo in the first true critical edition of the text. He used *D* to correct some errors and missing words in *B* but retained *B* as his base MS. *A* 187 features a large number of texts, the most notable of which for our purposes is *Prot. Jas.* (part 2,

¹⁶ See Thilo, *Codex Apocryphus*, lxxv; Tischendorf, *EA*², xliii. Hunger listed the text as missing and there has been no change in its status.

¹⁷ Photographs of this MS were supplied by the Biblioteca universitaria.

¹⁸ A microfilm of this MS was furnished by the Sächsische Landesbibliothek

p. 276–304), a text which often appears in MSS alongside IGT.¹⁹ The detailed study of the MS by von Dobschütz traces its origin to around 1600 in a monastery in Crete affiliated with St. Catherine's monastery in Sinai.²⁰ An editor, perhaps even Thilo himself, has added in the margin the chapter numbers established by Fabricius as well as bibliographical references to Lambeck and Cotelier. *D* differs from *BLM* most significantly in its rewording of a sentence in 15:4.6–8.

3.1.2.5.3 *M* Samos, Bibliothek Metropoleos, *MS Gr 54* (fols. 9v–21r), pap., 200 × 145 mm, 203 fols., 15/16th c.²¹

Catalogue: I. E. Anastasiou, *Κατάλογος χειρογράφων κωδίκων Ἱερᾶς Μητροπόλεως Σάμου. Ἐπισημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Θεολογικῆς Σκολῆς, Ἀριστοτελεῖον Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης* (Παράρτημα 13. Thessaloniki, 1973), 41–42.

This unpublished MS, first mentioned in scholarship by Paul Géhin,²² adds very little to our knowledge of the *α* subgroup. It contains numerous spelling mistakes, truncated sentences (9:2, 13:2 and 19:4), and omissions resulting from homoeoteleuton (noted in the apparatus at 6:2, 7:2, and 14:2). At times, the MS is very difficult to read, due in part to holes in the paper (fol. 10 has numerous holes; fols. 11 and 12 have holes through several lines), and also to varying contrast in the photography of the microfilm. *M* is closely related to *L* (see below).

¹⁹ See the discussion of *Gc* (particularly MS *T*) below and the descriptions of the *Ps.-Mt.* and Syriac MSS.

²⁰ The origin of the MS is discussed p. 250–52.

²¹ A microfilm of this MS was furnished by the Center of History and Palaeography of the Cultural Foundation of National Bank of Greece.

²² Géhin, “Heuristique des manuscrits grecs,” 14.

3.1.2.5.4 *L* Mount Athos, M. Megistes Lauras, *Cod. Lavra* Θ 222 (fols. 20r–46r), pap., 200 × 120 mm, 420 fols., 15th c.²³

Catalogue: Sophronios Eustratiades and Spyridon, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos* (HTS 12; 1925; repr., New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1969), 169–70.

L is another unpublished MS known to both Noret and Rosén but not previously evaluated or utilized.²⁴ The MS is clearly related to *M*—scribal notes on fols. 260 and 396 pinpoint its origin in Samos, and most of the texts in *M* are found among those in *L* (the first three listed in *M* even occur in the same order in *L*). The evidence suggests that *M* is the exemplar of *L*—the two share the errors listed under *M* (except for that of 14:1), with *L* adding a few more (in 14:2 *L* omits words inserted later in the sentence, and there is a clear case of homoeoteleuton in 6:2 where an entire line from *M* is skipped), and *L* reproduces exactly the abbreviations used by *M* when *M* shortens words to fit on a single line. Given its secondary relationship to *M*, *L* is of no assistance in reconstructing the text and therefore is not represented in the apparatus.

3.1.3 Group B (*BHG* 779pb)

Contents: *Thomas Intro* + *Ga* 2–5, 6 (*sections*), 7–11, 13.

Gb was discovered on Tischendorf's famous trip to St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai. The majority of scholars consider it an "abbreviation" of *Ga*, but *Gb* selectively abbreviates: the narrative-heavy sections remain roughly the same size as their parallels in *Ga*, whereas the sayings and dialogue episodes are drastically shortened. *Gb*'s single version of *Jesus and the Teacher* has some curious agreements with the second

²³ A microfilm of this MS was furnished by the Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies in Thessaloniki.

teacher story in *Gs* and both the first and second stories in the early versions (they all have the teacher tell Jesus "Say, Alpha," an element not found in any of the teacher stories in *Gac*). Few scholars see much utility in this version of the text, typically relegating it to the notes of their editions or translations. Tischendorf remains *Gb*'s sole previous editor.

3.1.3.1 *S* Mount Sinai, M. Ag. Ekaterines, *Cod. Sinai Gr 453* (fols. 109v–113r), pap., 250 × 150 mm, 120 fols., 14/15th c.²⁵

Catalogues: V. N. Beneševic, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum qui in monasterio Sanctae Catharinae in Monte Sina asservantur* (2 vols.; 1911–1917; repr., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1965), 1:251; Victor Gardthausen, *Catalogus codicum graecorum sinaiticorum* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886), 110.

S was published by Tischendorf first in an 1846 article and then more formally in *EA*.²⁶ IGT is added here to a collection of writings on Saint Anthony. The MS is well-preserved and contains a few copying errors: a repeated line at the close of *Gb* 2 (with corrector's dots), a missing line from the letter speculation section of *Gb* 7, perhaps a missing word (θαυμάζετε) in *Gb* 6:3a, and a few words (now illegible) crossed out in *Gb* 8:3. Some vowel confusion (η for ε1, ε for α1) occurs on occasion.

3.1.3.2 *C* Mount Sinai, M. Ag. Ekaterines, *Cod. Sinai Gr 532* (fols. 39v–42r), pap., 210 × 160 mm, 298 fols., 15/16th c.²⁷

Catalogues: Beneševic, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum*, 1:425; Gardthausen, *Catalogus codicum graecorum sinaiticorum*, 129–30.

This second unpublished *Gb* MS was first mentioned by P. Géhin and after him by Voicu.²⁸ IGT is found here among various lives of saints. *C*'s text is extremely close to *S*

²⁴ See Rosén, *The Slavonic Translation*, 37.

²⁵ A microfilm of this MS was furnished by the Library of Congress.

²⁶ Tischendorf, "Rechenschaft," 51–53; idem, *EA*², 158–63.

but not close enough to suggest direct copying. Several errors found in *S* recur in *C*—6:3a mentioned above, as well as occasional misspelled words (eg. $\rho\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\upsilon$ for $\rho\acute{\alpha}\beta\delta\omicron\upsilon$, 2:2)—but the copyist of *C* was more slavish in his task, adding further incorrectly spelled words. Vowel confusion is also more rampant, and abbreviations, particularly for personal pronouns, appear occasionally. The MS has been corrected in several places (6:3a.7 and 10; 6:3b.1; 9:3.11), likely by the copyist himself. *C*'s value lies in its inclusion of a line missing from the letter speculation section in *S*.

3.1.4 Group C (*BHG* 779n)²⁹

Gc, the ancestor to the more well-known late Latin translation *Lt*, diverges from the previous recensions by its addition of several prologue chapters featuring the young Jesus and his family in Egypt, by its attribution (in *AR*) to James, and by its distinctly different language and syntax. Several sections of the text differ radically from their parallels in *Gs* and *Ga*: *Gc* shortens 2:5; it lacks the transition in 2:3.1–3, the mention of word and deed in 4:1, and the parents' retrieval of their son's body in 4:2; and it adds a request to teach Jesus to bless in 3:3.9/10. Given that the readings of *Ga* more closely correspond to those of *Gs*, *Gc* must be considered a radical rewriting of *Ga*, a fact which renders it of little utility in reconstructing the original text.

3.1.4.1 *A* Athens, Ethnike Bibliothekē, *Cod. Ath. Gr* 355 (fols. 61r–68v), pap., 230 × 170 mm., 180 fols., 15th c.³⁰

²⁷ A microfilm of this MS was furnished by the Library of Congress.

²⁸ Géhin, "Heuristique des manuscrits grecs," 14; Voicu, "Verso," 25.

²⁹ Voicu uses the designation *Gd*.

³⁰ A microfilm of the MS was furnished by Leonidas Ananiades.

Catalogue: François Halkin, *Catalogue des MSS hagiographiques de la Bibliothèque nationale d'Athènes* (Subsidia hagiographica 66; Brussels: Société des Bollandists, 1983), 45.

Contents: *Egyptian Prologue* + *James Intro* + *Ga* 2–5, 6 (including 2a–f), 7–19.

Delatte published the text from *A* in 1927³¹ but it has had little impact on subsequent critical editions, despite the fact that it is the only previously published Greek MS containing a version of the speech of ch. 6.³² Comparisons with the other *Gc* MSS and *Lt* indicate that *A* contains several significant errors: the garbled Prologue v. 9, a section in *Gc* 14:1 added in the margin, and corrupt lines or words in *Gc* 3:1, 6:1, 6:2f, 8:2, 15:4 and 19:2. Several words are misspelled due to confusion between *υ* and *β*, and due to vowel substitution (*ω* and *ο*, *α* and *ε*, *η* and *ει*, *ι* and *η*). Some material with parallels in *Ga* and/or *Gs* is absent in *A* but extant in both *T* and *Lt* (17:2.5/6; 15:1.13–15; 19:4.3/4), in *T* alone (15:1.7–9; 19:5.2/3 and 5), or in *Lt* alone (5:2.1–5; 7:3.12; 7:4.5). There are two occasions, however, where *A* is superior to *T* and *Lt* (they lack 14:3.6/7 and 15:4.6–8, both of which have parallels in *Gs* and *Ga*). Most significantly, the numerous readings in *T* which are closer in language and syntax to *Ga* than those in *A* indicate that the transformation from *Ga* to *Gc* may have been gradual.

3.1.4.2 *R* Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Palatinus Gr* 364 (fols. 163r–164v), pap., 210 × 145 mm, 354 fols., 15th c.³³

Catalogue: H. Stevenson, *Codices manuscripti palatini graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Roma: Ex Typ. Vaticano, 1885), 222–28.

Contents: *James incipit* + *Egyptian Prologue* + *James Intro* + *Ga* 2:1–4 (truncated).

This unpublished fragmentary MS is valuable for where it clarifies several sections of the Egyptian Prologue corrupt or abbreviated in *A*—specifically, the teacher's

³¹ Delatte, "Évangile de l'enfance de Jacques."

³² Hock's *The Infancy Gospels* is a notable exception. This edition follows *Ga* primarily but uses *Gc* for ch. 6, thereby creating a hybrid text.

command to bring Jesus to him and his subsequent pulling of Jesus' ear (v. 6), and several errors in v. 9. Despite the differences between *R* and *A*, the two MSS must be closely related to one another as they share the corrupt spelling of Τιβερίάδος (Prologue v. 8) and the corruption ἐπιδιάβα εἰς ρύακα for ἐπὶ διάβασιν ρύακος (2:1), and they both omit χάριν (Prologue v. 9). *R* is a poor witness to *Gc*, however; it contains a number of spelling errors, some due to vowel confusion (ω for ο, ει for ι, η for ει, αι for ε, υ for η), and the omission, likely due to homoeoteleuton, of several lines in 2:3. The MS cuts off mid-page in 2:4. *R* first entered IGT scholarship in van Esbroeck's 1969 review of de Santos' *Kirchenslavische*. His note about *R*'s existence and its connection to Delatte's MS have been repeated often but never pursued.³⁴

3.1.4.3 *T* Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *Cod. theol. Gr 123* (fols. 192r–193v), pap., 265/278 × 195/210 mm, 209 fols., 13th c. (second half).³⁵

Catalogue: Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften*, 1:74–81.
Contents: *Ga* 10:2, 11–19 (truncated).

This codex is extremely damaged, with pages missing, mixed up, and waterdamaged. IGT itself appears to have once been complete in the MS but is now reduced to a few pages. The MS also includes *Prot. Jas.* (154r–159r) as well as texts by Chrysostom and Ephrem. If Hunger's dating is correct, this is the second earliest MS of IGT and the earliest witness to *Gc*. As noted above, *T*'s readings often approach those of *Ga* and, given *T*'s occasional agreements with *Lt* over *A*, the MS represents a better

³³ A microfilm of the MS was furnished by the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

³⁴ The MS was mentioned subsequently by de Santos himself (*Die handschriftliche Überlieferung*, 50 n. 2), Noret ("Pour une édition"), Voicu ("Notes," 125), Cullmann ("Infancy Gospels²," 440), Schneider (*Apokryphe Kindheitsevangeliem*, 40), and was listed, but not used, by Rosén (*The Slavonic Translation*, 37).

witness to *Gc* than Delatte's MS. Nevertheless, *T* is also replete with spelling errors and typical vowel confusion (o for ω, η for ει and ι, ι for ει, υ for η). The MS has not been published previously, but Rosén, the first IGT scholar to note the MS as a witness to the text, used it peripherally.³⁶

3.2 The Versions.

3.2.1 Latin (*BHL* 5334–37, 5338–39, 5340–42, etc.)

There are three distinct Latin witnesses to IGT: a fragmentary fifth-century palimpsest (*Lv*), the so-called *pars altera* of *Ps.-Mt.* (*Lm*), and a late version related to *Gc* (*Lr*; *BHL* 4151n). The first of these, *Lv* (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *Vindobonensis* 563),³⁷ contains fragments of *Ga* 2, 5, 7–9, 14, and 19.³⁸ It was discovered by Tischendorf and first published in 1851.³⁹ Over a century later, Philippart contributed a detailed study of the palimpsest, adding some newly-deciphered readings and revealing that the version of IGT in the MS actually derives from three separate copies of the text.⁴⁰ *Lv* is therefore a composite text. It is also the earliest witness we have of IGT. In the

³⁵ Photographs of the MS were furnished by the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

³⁶ Rosén, *The Slavonic Translation*, 37.

³⁷ The MS comprises four codices, the last (fols. 122–177) containing the palimpsest material. This section measures 200 × 150 mm and dates from the eighth century, perhaps originating in northern Italy (Philippart, "Fragments palimpsestes latins," 411).

³⁸ On the date of the MS see E. A. Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores: A Paleographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century* (11 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934–1966), 10:14. For other dates assigned to the MS see Philippart, "Fragments palimpsestes latins," 391 n. 3.

³⁹ Tischendorf, *De evangeliorum apocryphorum*, 214–15.

⁴⁰ See Philippart, "Fragments palimpsestes latins," 403. The text is divided into: book 1=fols. 176 (*Ga* 2) & 171 (*Ga* 5), book 2=fols. 135 (*Ga* 7) & 132 (*Ga* 8–9), book 3=fols. 142 (*Ga* 14) & 141 (*Ga* 19).

discussion of *Lv* from *EA*,⁴¹ Tischendorf attempted to demonstrate *Lv*'s affinity to the Greek text. He concluded that the palimpsest represents an earlier stage in the transmission history of *Lt*. It never occurred to him that the two might represent different translations; but that seems to be precisely the case.

The second Latin witness, *Lm*, represents the same text as *Lv* but in a much-interpolated form. It can be found appended to numerous late MSS of *Ps.-Mt.* (chs. 26–42), a seventh-century Latin infancy gospel which combines a translation of *Prot. Jas.*⁴² with a text featuring several miracles performed by the infant Jesus on his journey to Egypt. The earliest MS of *Ps.-Mt.* containing the IGT material, dubbed the *pars altera* by Tischendorf, dates from the eleventh century (Paris, Bibl. nat., lat. 1772). Until the mid-twentieth century, the *pars altera* was considered by many to be an original part of the text,⁴³ but studies of the *Ps.-Mt.* MS tradition by Canal and Gijssels proved otherwise.⁴⁴ Gijssels's recent edition, therefore, omits the IGT material. Tischendorf's edition remains the only published version of *Ps.-Mt.* in its longer form; this is especially unfortunate given that his text was based on poor, late witnesses⁴⁵—namely: *Vat. lat. 4578* (=Tischendorf A; Gijssels Q⁴a2); Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, *Gaddi 208*

⁴¹ Tischendorf, *EA*², xlv–xlvi.

⁴² Rita Beyers ("Introduction générale aux deux textes édités," in *Libri de Navitate Mariae*, Vol. 1, *Pseudo-Matthaei Evangelium Textus et Commentarius* [ed. Jan Gijssels; 2 vols.; Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum 9; Turnhout: Brepols, 1997], 13) dates the text to the first quarter of the seventh century.

⁴³ Tischendorf's edition of the text cemented the longer form of *Ps.-Mt.* in subsequent scholarship, but Thilo (*Codex Apocryphus*, cix–cxii) and Lipsius ("Gospels Apocryphal," 702–4) long ago believed that the IGT material was a later addition.

⁴⁴ J. M. Canal, "Antiguas versiones latinas del Protevangelio de Santiago," *Ephemerides mariologicae* 18 (1968): 431–73; Jan Gijssels, *Libri de Navitate Mariae*, Vol. 1, *Pseudo-Matthaei Evangelium Textus et Commentarius* (Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum 9; Brepols: Turnhout, 1997).

⁴⁵ This assessment of Tischendorf's MSS was made by Beyers, "Introduction," 38–39.

(=Tischendorf B; Gijssel R²b2); Paris, Bibl. nat., *lat.* 5559 A (=Tischendorf C; Gijssel A¹c1); and Paris, Bibl. nat., *lat.* 1652 (=Tischendorf D; Gijssel P³a2).⁴⁶

While Gijssel's edition neglects *Lm*, it does discuss witnesses to the longer version favoured by Tischendorf, and includes a description of the process by which the IGT material became a part of the text.⁴⁷ Gijssel divided the 185 *Ps.-Mt.* MSS used in his study into five groups: A (which rarely includes IGT), P (without IGT), Q (with IGT and dating from the twelfth century), R (originating from the Q branch), and J (a mixture of *Ps.-Mt.* [including IGT], *Prot. Jas.*, and other traditions). Where IGT appears in the A branch, it is found in chronological sequence along with *Ps.-Mt.*, *Assum. Vir.*, and *Gos. Nic.* In two notable A MSS—Paris, Bibl. nat., *lat.* 1772 (11th c.; Gijssel A⁴a2) and Dijon, Bibl. Mun., 38 (20) (13th c.; Gijssel A¹g1)—the IGT material appears separate from *Ps.-Mt.* and with a new title. By the time of the Q MSS, the combination of *Ps.-Mt.* and IGT is the norm and the two texts are joined as one. The branch Q⁴b (six MSS) is particularly curious, for it contains an epilogue attributing the text to “Thomas Ismaelita” (cf. *Lt praefatio*).⁴⁸ Given that the Thomas attribution is otherwise unattested outside of the Greek tradition (which includes *Sl* and *Lt*), the branch's authorship presumably originated from contact with *Lt*.

Voicu's recent demonstration of the relationship between the *Ps.-Mt. pars altera* (*Lm*) and the fragmentary Old Latin translation (*Lv*)⁴⁹ should lead to renewed study of

⁴⁶ The D MS was used also in Tischendorf's apparatus to *Lt*. It is a mixed text of *Ps.-Mt.* (chs. 1–24), *Lt* (chs. 25–40, 42, 48), Tischendorf's *Ps.-Mt.* MS A (chs. 43–47), and ch. 41 from a third recension. See the description in Lipsius, “Gospels Apocryphal,” 704.

⁴⁷ On the latter topic see Gijssel, *Libri de Navitate Mariae*, 94–96.

⁴⁸ Tischendorf (*EA*², xlv) was aware of one of these MSS—Oxford, Merton College I 13 (14/15th c.). Knowing only the contents of the epilogue, he suspected it might be another witness to *Lt*.

⁴⁹ Voicu, “Verso,” 29–34. Philippart (“Fragments palimpsestes latins,” 407) had previously revealed that *Lv* was a Latin translation distinct from *Lt*.

these MSS. The two A MSS noted above (Paris, Bibl. nat., *lat.* 1772 and Dijon, Bibl. Mun., 38 [20]) may even provide a version of the Latin text that is closer to *Lv* than Tischendorf's MSS. In the meantime, we must rely on Tischendorf's edition.

Witnesses to the Old Latin tradition are extant also in several translations of the text into European languages. Much of this material—in German,⁵⁰ Danish,⁵¹ Provençal,⁵² and Old English⁵³—is derived from *Ps.-Mt.*, but an Irish MS (Dublin, National Library of Ireland, *MS G 50* [pp. 118–20], 17th c.; =*Ir*⁵⁴) features a translation of the infancy stories made directly from the Old Latin IGT. The MS, a paraphrase into Gaelic verse containing *Ga* 2–9 and 11–13, was first published in a preliminary edition by James Carney in 1958.⁵⁵ A definitive edition followed in 1964,⁵⁶ and a new edition by Máire Herbert is forthcoming.⁵⁷ Carney dated the translation into Irish to around 700 C.E.,⁵⁸ thereby making it one of the earliest witnesses to IGT. *Ir*'s correspondences to

⁵⁰ See Achim Masser, *Bibel, Apokryphen und Legenden: Geburt und Kindheit Jesu in der religiösen Epik des deutschen Mittelalters* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1969), 284–304; and Hans Fromm and Klaus Grubmüller, *Konrad von Fussesbrunnen, Die Kindheit Jesu, Kritische Ausgabe* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1973).

⁵¹ See Tue Gad, *Legenden i dansk middelalder* (Copenhagen: Dansk Videnskabs, 1961), 248–52.

⁵² See R. Reinsch, *Die Pseudo-Evangelien von Jesu und Maria's Kindheit in der romanischen und germanischen Literatur* (Halle, 1879), 96–100.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 124–35. For a survey of some of the various medieval legends see Angelo Solomon Rappoport, *Mediaeval Legends of Christ* (London: Ivor Nicholson & Watson Ltd., 1934).

⁵⁴ For the MS details see Nessa Ní Shéaghda, *Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland. Fasciculus 2: MS G15–G69* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1961), 66–68.

⁵⁵ Carney, "Two Old Irish Poems."

⁵⁶ Carney, *The Poems of Blathmac*, 89–105.

⁵⁷ In *Apocrypha Hiberniae*, Vol. 1, *Evangelia infantiae* (eds. Irish Biblical Association and Martin McNamara; Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum; Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

⁵⁸ Carney, *The Poems of Blathmac*, xviii.

other witnesses of the shorter recension, to which it comes far closer than the much-interpolated *Lm*, render it an important witness to the Old Latin tradition.⁵⁹

The Old Latin witnesses must be clearly distinguished from *Lt*, the longer Latin translation of IGT. This version was published, again, by Tischendorf from a single unnamed MS. Siegmund identified it as *Vat. Reginae Sueciae 648* (12/13th c.),⁶⁰ but an earlier note by Tischendorf makes it clear that the MS was actually *Vat. lat. 4578* (fols. 37v–44r; 14th c.).⁶¹ The Latin version was notable at the time because it was the first witness discovered which includes the Egyptian Prologue. It also features sections of the material absent in *Ga* 6, but lacks two large sections toward the end of the text (*Ga* 17:2–18:1; 19:1–3).

Like *Lm*, *Lt* has a large untapped MS tradition. One MS in particular, Berne Burgerbibliothek 271 (fols. 41r–44r; 14th c.), was actually printed in full in Sinner's 1760 catalogue of the library⁶²—a century *before* Tischendorf; yet it seems to have escaped the

⁵⁹ Voicu did not agree with this assessment. *Ir* was mentioned in his work as a witness to the Old Latin text ("Notes," 123; "Verso," 27–28), but his confidence in its readings was not sufficient enough to include them in his critical synopsis.

⁶⁰ See Siegmund, *Die Überlieferung*, 36. The identification has been repeated often, most notably by van Esbroeck (review of de Santos, *Kirchenslavische*, 261), and after him by Gero ("The Infancy Gospel of Thomas," 50). It is due to Gero's study that other scholars have continued the erroneous designation. Siegmund also revealed at the time a "suspicion" that *Lt* was the source of *Gc*, rather than the reverse (36, n. 3).

⁶¹ Having just discussed a new Vatican MS of *Ps.-Mt.* (*Vat. lat. 4578*), Tischendorf turns to his discovery of the Latin IGT "in eodem codice Vaticano" (*De evangeliorum apocryphorum*, 213).

⁶² Sinner, *Catalogus Codicum MSS Bibliothecae Bernensis*, 1:245–58. *Lt* is found here without the Egyptian Prologue. However, according to Gijssels (*Libri de Navitate Mariae*, 167), the Prologue is featured just before the *pars altera* in a version of *Ps.-Mt.* earlier in the same MS. The text is then followed by a "variante caractéristique après in ciuitatem Nazareth."

knowledge of subsequent scholars. In addition, several of Gijssel's *Ps.-Mt.* MSS contain all or part of *Lt*:⁶³

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 288 (fols. 78v–82r), 12–13th c. (=Gijssel Q⁴a1; see also Izydorczyk, *Manuscripts*, 31–2).

Oxford, Bodleian Library, *Rawlinson D 1236* (fols. 27v–42v), 14th c. (=Gijssel A¹e4; see also Izydorczyk, *Manuscripts*, 124).

Paris, Bibliothèque Saint-Geneviève, 3014 (fols. 23r–35v), 13–14th c. (=Gijssel A³b9).

London, British Library, *Harley 3199* (fols. 95r–109v), 11–14th c. (=Gijssel Q³a5). Here *Ps.-Mt.* ends with the heading of *Lt* 1 (The Egyptian Prologue).

Madrid, Biblioteca nacional, 9783 (*F 152, Ee 103*) (fols. 115v–119v) 13–15th c. (=Gijssel A⁴a6). Gijssel says *Lt* “de I, 1, 5 à III” is found between *Ps.-Mt.* and the *pars altera*.

London, British Library, *Royal 6 E III* (fols. 9r–15v), 15th c. (=Gijssel Q³b2). This MS contains the same variant as Q³b1 (see above) but includes the entire text of *Lt*.

Oxford, Corpus Christi College, *E 223* (fols. 57r–72r), 14/15th c. (=Gijssel Q⁴b3). *Lt* 1–9 follows the *pars altera*.

Gijssel's 14 R family MSS include the Egyptian Prologue between *Ps.-Mt.* 22 and 23; Tischendorf's B MS (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, *Gaddi 208*) is one of these.

An additional three MSS of *Lt* are listed in Izydorczyk's study of *Gos. Nic.* MSS:

Paris, Bib. nat., *MS Lat 6041A* (*Manuscripts*, 143).

Austria, Nat. Bib., *MS 563* (*Manuscripts*, 192–3).

Praha, Czech Republic, *MS XIV.E.10* (*Manuscripts*, 161).

Also worth noting, in connection with the study of infancy material in general, are several of Gijssel's MSS that contain individual episodes relating to Jesus' childhood. These are:

Oxford, Bodleian Library, *Rawlinson D 123* (fols. 42v–44r), 14th c. (=Gijssel A¹e4). The MS contains “une série de *Miracula* de l'enfant Jésus, du même genre que le *Pseudo-Thomas*.”

⁶³ The presence of *Lt* in Gijssel's MSS is uncertain at times as he refers to the text by several different names. The full information can only be obtained from a complete study of the tradition. Some of the MSS that follow are also listed in Zbigniew Izydorczyk, *Manuscripts of the Evangelium Nicodemi: A Census* (Subsidia mediaevalia 21; Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1993).

Griefswald, Bibliothek des geistlichen Ministeriums XXXV.E.107 (fol. 109), between 1409 and 1413 (=Gijssel Q¹a13). The MS contains two unedited miracles between *Ps.-Mt.* and the *pars altera*.

Vatican, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, *Vat. lat. 6300* (fols. 127v–131r), 15th and 17th c. (=Gijssel Q³a7). *Ps.-Mt.* is followed by “une série de *Miracula pueri Iesu*,” then *Lt* 1, the *pars altera*, additional *Miracula* (the first found also in Q¹a13) and ends with an attribution to Thomas.

Oxford, Corpus Christi College, *E 223*, 14–15th c. (=Gijssel Q⁴b3). “Des miracles of Jésus” follow *Lt* 9, miracles that are also found in the body of four other *Ps.-Mt.* MSS: Oxford Bodleian Library, *e Musaeo 177* (Q⁴b1); Oxford, Merton College, *I 13* (Q⁴b2); Paris, Bib. nat., *lat. 11867* (Q⁴b5; =Tischendorf B);⁶⁴ Manchester, John Rylands Library, *lat. 372* (Q¹a6).

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, *Santa Croce 15 destra 12* (fols. 4v–5v), 13th c. (=Gijssel Q⁶a1). Five unedited miracles are added in the margin.

Trèves, Stadtbibliothek, *585/1585* (fols. 40r–42v), 14/15th c. (=Gijssel P²y1). Contains some “*miracula de natiuitate Christi*.”

Neither Gijssel nor Izydorczyk set out specifically to discuss *Lt* MSS. There may be still more to add to the list, including better witnesses to the text than Tischendorf’s *Vat. lat. 4578*. A complete assessment of the *Lt* MSS does little to enhance our understanding of the original text of IGT but it would be valuable for increasing our knowledge of *Gc*.

3.2.2 Slavonic

The study of the Slavonic version of IGT began in the late nineteenth century, first by Russian and Serbian scholars, and more recently by Western scholars. The text is known in 16 MSS from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century. Six belong to an older medieval tradition in Middle Bulgarian, Serbian, Croatian, and Russian, while the remaining ten are eighteenth- to nineteenth-century Ukrainian MSS. The Slavonic text

⁶⁴ This MS features the well-attested *Sunbeam* episode (after *Ga* 5; see Tischendorf, *EA*², 106) found also in *Eth*, some Slavonic MSS, and some European translations (see Gero, “The Infancy Gospel of Thomas,” 57). Bib. nat., *lat. 11867* bears the title *Liber de Infantia Salvatoris*, a title also used sometimes of M. R. James’ *Latin Infancy Gospel*. For

gained prominence in de Santos' *Kirchenslavische*. This study of the tradition features a German translation based on the fourteenth-century Middle Bulgarian MS *J* (St. Petersburg, Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences, *A. I. Jacimirskij Cod. No. 15* [fols. 177r–183v.], 1337–55). In addition, de Santos combined readings from *J* with variants from *Gc*, *P*, *O* and several of the published versions (*Lt*, *Lv*, *Geo*, and *SyrW*) to construct a Greek retroversion of the Slavonic source. He dated the entry of this text into the Slavonic milieu to an Old Bulgarian translation of the tenth or eleventh century. De Santos was heavily criticized for his work, in part for shortcomings in his skills with the languages but particularly for believing a retrotranslation was even possible. In 1997, Thomas Rosén presented a new critical edition of the Slavonic MSS, again based on *J*, but without trying to recover the Greek *Vorlage*. Now purged of the non-Slavonic variant readings introduced by de Santos, *Sl* stands revealed as a translation of *Ga*, and one that is particularly close to the Greek MS *W*. However, there are several variants and corruptions worthy of note: the Greek *Vorlage* of *Sl* included the story of *Jesus and the Temple of Idols* (found also in *Ps.-Mt.* 23, and *Arab. Gos. Inf.* 10) and a tale of Jesus healing a man's eyes (found also in *Arab. Gos. Inf.* 28);⁶⁵ in the attribution, Thomas is referred to as "the chosen one"; the curse on Annas' son includes the insult "Sodomite" (*Ga* 3:2) found otherwise only in *Gc*; several sections of chapter six feature odd or corrupt readings (*Ga* 6:2e; 2f; in 6:4 the letter speculation is combined with a heavenly ascent); in a few places the text is garbled due to translation error (the final sentence in *Ga* 1; 12:2);

excerpts from *Bib. nat., lat. 11867* see Bonnacorsi, *Vangeli apocrifi*, 226–31; Reinsch, *Die Pseudo-Evangelien*, 8–12.

⁶⁵ Rosén, *The Slavonic Translation*, 45.

and there are several significant omissions (much of *Ga* 7, and parts of 15:1, 4). In one verse, however, *Sl* alone appears to preserve a reading lost in the *Ga* MSS (*Ga* 15:2).

The value of *Sl* lies in the antiquity of its text-form. If both Rosén and de Santos are correct in dating *Sl*'s origin to the tenth century,⁶⁶ then the 19-chapter text was extant at least three to four centuries before the earliest known *Ga* MS, and even earlier than *H*. Rosen's text has been employed in the present study through an English translation provided by T. Allan Smith of the Toronto School of Theology.

3.2.3 Syriac

The Syriac text is extant in four published or partially published MSS of varying contents. The first, London, British Library, *Add. 14484* (fols. 12v–16r) of the sixth century (=SyrW),⁶⁷ was published by Wright in 1865. Comparison with the early versions and subsequently-published Syriac MSS has shown that *SyrW* lacks sections of several chapters (*Ga* 6:2d, 6:3–7:3, 8:2, and 15:3–4). Some of the missing material was supplied by Peeters in his partial publication of *Vat. syr. 159* (fols. 231v–239v; dated 1622/1623; =SyrP)⁶⁸ which features a version of *Arab. Gos. Inf.* with IGT appended in Syriac. Peeters described the MS as superior to *SyrW* because it includes much of the material lacking in

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 165–66.

⁶⁷ Wright, *Contributions*, 11–16 (text), 6–11 (translation). See also Wright's catalog entry in *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired Since the Year 1838* (London: British Museum, 1870), 98–99. Baars and Heldermaann ("Neue Materielen," 194) designated the MS as 14181 and, based on the recovery of new pages, renumbered the folios 14v–18v.

⁶⁸ Peeters, "Introduction," 304–308. *CANT* erroneously lists the MS as Paris, Bib. nat., *Syr 159*. For the catalogue entry see S. E. Assemani, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codicum Manuscriptorum catalogus*, Vol. 3, *Reliquos Codices Chaldaicos sive Syriacos* (3 vols.; Paris: Maisonneuve, 1926), 307–319.

the first MS, including *Ga* 15:3–4.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, Peeters published only chapters 5–8, and only in French translation. The full extent of the MS can be determined only by a complete collation. A third MS, Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, *Syr.* 10 (fols. 1v–4v) of the fifth or sixth century (*SyrG*),⁷⁰ was first noted by Duensing in 1911.⁷¹ It was then used by Meyer for his 1924 German translation of IGT.⁷² A full collation of the MS was not published until 1993. The collation, by Baars and Heldermann,⁷³ indicates that the MS improves on *SyrW* in several places (*Ga* 6:2e, 8:2) but it suffers from some omissions of its own (*Ga* 4:2, 5:2–3; 6:1, 2c, 3–4; most of 7; all of 14 and 15; and parts of 19).⁷⁴ A fourth MS, *Urmia* 43 (dated to 1863), listed by Baumstark is apparently now lost.⁷⁵ Additional witnesses to the Syriac text may be extant in MSS of the *Vision of Theophilus* (*CANT* 56). Mingana⁷⁶ listed several MSS of this text, a complex of biographical material which includes *Prot. Jas.*, *Assum. Vir.*, and something titled “Of the youth and growth of

⁶⁹ See Peeters, “Introduction,” xiii–xv.

⁷⁰ Listed in W. Meyer, *Die Handschriften in Göttingen*, Vol. 3, *Universitäts-Bibliothek, Nachlässe von Gelehrten, Orientalische Handschriften* (Berlin, 1894), 463–469. Baars and Heldermann (“Neue Materielen,” 193) ascribe to it a seventh-century date.

⁷¹ Duensing, “Mitteilungen 58.”

⁷² Meyer, “Kindheitszählung des Thomas².” Meyer used only a portion of *SyrG* collated for him by A. Rahlfs. Baars and Heldermann (“Neue Materielen,” 193 n. 10) claim that Meyer never used the MS; however, a comparison of Meyer’s 1904 and 1924 translations of the text indicates otherwise.

⁷³ Baars and Heldermann, “Neue Materielen,” 194–97.

⁷⁴ In “Verso,” Voicu used a collation of *SyrG* prepared for him by Frédéric Rilliet. According to his information, *SyrG* does contain *Ga* 14 and 15. When asked about the discrepancy, Voicu said that he was no longer in contact with Rilliet and that the matter could only be settled by looking at the MS itself.

⁷⁵ Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 670 and after him by van Esbroeck, review of de Santos, *Kirchenslavische*, 262. On its current status see Baars and Heldermann, “Neue Materielen,” 194 n. 17.

⁷⁶ A. Mingana, “Woodbrook Studies 5: *Vision of Theophilus*,” *BJRL* 13 (1929): 384–85. See also the discussion in Gero, “Apocryphal Gospels,” 3983–84.

our Lord Jesus Messiah."⁷⁷ Unfortunately, nothing more is known about the latter text. Mingana chose to publish only the *Vision* section of the collection because the other sections, he wrote, had already been published. A final Syriac witness is found incorporated in the *Life of Mary* (BHO 612) published by Budge from a thirteenth-/fourteenth-century Alqoṣ MS (=SyrB).⁷⁸ Though the compiler of the *Life of Mary* shuffled the order of the IGT material and even omitted some chapters, the text follows quite closely the other Syriac MSS. At times it provides the only published witness to several of the verses. The following chart summarizes the contents of the Syriac MSS.

Wright (W)	Peeters (P)	Göttingen (G)	Budge (B)
2		2	[omits]
3		3	[omits]
4		4:1 only	4
5	5 translated	5:1 only	[omits]
6:1–2e(a), 2f	6 translated	6:2–2b; 2d–f	6
7:1a, 4b only	7 translated	7:1a, 4b only	7
8:1 only	8 translated	8	[omits]
9		9	[omits]
11		11	11
12		12	12
13		13	13
14		[missing]	14
15:1, 2a only		[missing]	15
16		16	16
19		19 [with absences]	[omits]

Though the Syriac MSS all suffer from omissions, a complete text of the tradition can be pieced together with some certainty from the available evidence.

⁷⁷ Mingana lists further MSS of this type in *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts* (4 vols.; Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd., 1933–1963), 1:nos. 5, 39, and 48.

⁷⁸ Budge, *The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary*. Budge collated his MS with another MS of the text at Société Royal Asiatic de Londres which does not contain the IGT material. For more on these MSS see Peeters, "Introduction," v–vi.

Of special note concerning the Syriac version of IGT are three variants shared with the Old Latin tradition (*Lv, Lm, Ir*): in chapter six, Zacchaeus has Jesus learn the Hebrew alphabet; in chapter nine, Zeno falls from the roof on the Sabbath; and in *Ga* 13, they both report that the bed measured six cubits. These common variants led Voicu to the conclusion that the two traditions have a common ancestor.⁷⁹

The Syriac tradition spawned two offspring: *Arab. Gos. Inf.* (*BHO* 619; *CANT* 580) and a second unrelated Arabic translation. *Arab. Gos. Inf.* has been known since its publication by Sike in 1697.⁸⁰ For his edition, Sike used the MS *Oxon. Bodl. Or. 350*, now lost. Most subsequent editions and translations are based on Sike's published text. *Arab. Gos. Inf.* is most well-known in the French translation of Peeters who also employed his own discovery, *Vat. Syr. 159*, for his edition.⁸¹ A further MS in Florence (Biblioteca Laurenziana, *codex orientalis* 387 [32]; dated to 1299) was examined and translated into Italian by M. E. Provera in 1973.⁸² This last MS corresponds best to Budge's Syriac *Life of Mary* and appears to predate the Coptic Egyptian reworking of the text that is represented in Sike's MS, yet it terminates following ch. 44 (omitting, therefore, *Ga* 2–4, 6–8, 11, 14, 19). *Arab. Gos. Inf.* is believed to have originated in the eighth or ninth century.⁸³ The lengthy infancy gospel is a collection of at least three other works: chs. 1–10 corresponds to *Prot. Jas.* 17–25, chs. 10–35 features tales of Jesus'

⁷⁹ Voicu, "Verso," 36.

⁸⁰ Sike, *Evangelium Infantiae*.

⁸¹ In Michel and Peeters, *Évangiles Apocryphes*, 2:1–68.

⁸² M. E. Provera, *Il Vangelo arabo dell'infanzia secondo il Ms. Laurenziano orientale (n. 387)* (Jerusalem, 1973) (text and Italian trans.). See also the discussion and French translation of the new MS by Charles Genequand, "Vie de Jésus en Arabe," in *Écrits Apocryphes Chrétiens* (eds. François Bovon and Pierre Geoltrain; Paris: Gallimard, 1997–), 1:191–204.

sojourn in Egypt, and chs. 36–53 include material from IGT as well as several stories found in other branches of the IGT tradition (*Jesus and the Dyer*, and *Jesus Turns Jewish Children into Swine*). That *Arab. Gos. Inf.* is derived from a Syriac original is by no means certain but it is likely;⁸⁴ its correspondences to Budge's *Life of Mary* are compelling and Graf lists some unpublished MSS of *Arab. Gos. Inf.* with portions in Syriac and Garshūni.⁸⁵

The Arabic version of IGT is found in an undated MS of Muslim and Christian texts from the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan (*G 11 sup* [fols. 145r–153v]).⁸⁶ The first mention of an Arabic IGT was made by Moraldi in 1989, and again in 1991,⁸⁷ but he provided little details. He stated at the time that he believed it was the source of *Eth*, though this does not appear to be the case (see 3.2.5 below). Moraldi's MS is likely the same as the Milanese MS published by Noja in 1991.⁸⁸ Its affinities to the Syriac include a shortened text form (i.e., it lacks *Ga* 1, 10, 17 and 18) and the setting of *Ga* 9 on the Sabbath. Otherwise the text diverges considerably from other versions: it tends to abbreviate within chapters (particularly in ch. 6 which lacks *Ga* 6:2b–f, 4, and much of

⁸³ The ninth-century Syriac father Isho'dad of Merv seems to refer to *Arab. Gos. Inf.* in his commentary of Matthew (see Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 100).

⁸⁴ Peeters, "Introduction," vi–vii; Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 100. An Arabic or Coptic original is also possible.

⁸⁵ Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen Arabischen Literatur* (4 vols.; Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944–1953), 1:225–27.

⁸⁶ For a full description see Oscar Löfgren and Renato Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana* (3 vols.; Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1975), 1:14–15 (no. 16).

⁸⁷ Moraldi, *Nascita e infanzia di Gesù*, 50; idem, *Vangelo arabo apocrifo*, 28.

⁸⁸ Introductory notes and the Arabic text in Noja, "À propos du texte arabe"; French translation in idem, "L'Évangile arabe apocryphe de Thomas."

Ga 7), includes two additional stories (*Jesus and the Dyer* and one similar to *Jesus Turns Jewish Children into Swine*),⁸⁹ and lacks *Ga* 12, 15, and 19.

The two Arabic versions of IGT ultimately derive from Syriac traditions, and therefore offer no assistance in recovering the early text of the gospel. Consequently, they play no further role in this study.

3.2.4 Georgian

The Georgian MS (Tbilisi, *Cod. A 95* [pp. 568–72])⁹⁰ was published concurrently in two independent editions, one in Georgian by Kekelidze in 1918, and the other in Russian by Melikset-Bek in a journal article dated 1917–1920.⁹¹ A Latin translation was provided by Garitte in 1956. The MS was copied around the end of the tenth century but the translation, according to Garitte, is “de plusieurs siècles antérieure.”⁹² Like *Syr*, *Eth* and the Old Latin tradition, *Geo* lacks *Ga* 1 and, perhaps originally also *Ga* 10, 17 and 18; unfortunately, its full extent cannot be determined as the MS terminates following *Ga* 7:2. Several readings in *Geo* are difficult to decipher, likely due to a transmission path through at least one other language: Armenian.⁹³ If an Armenian version of IGT once existed, it is no longer extant, though it may have served as a source for *Arm. Gos. Inf.*

⁸⁹ The MS includes a decoration of this story. For a reproduction, see Bagatti and García, *La Vida de Jesús*, 38.

⁹⁰ For the catalogue entry see F. D. Jordania, *Opisanie rukopisei Tiflisskago Cerkovnago Muzeja* (Description of the MSS of the Ecclesiastical Museum of Tiflis) (Tiflis, 1903), 1:105, no. 98.

⁹¹ Kekelidze, *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica*, 1:115–17; Melikset-Bek, “Fragment grusinskoi.”

⁹² Garitte, “Le fragment géorgien,” 516.

⁹³ Voicu, “Verso,” 19; Peeters, “Introduction,” xix.

(*BHO* 617–618; *CANT* 59).⁹⁴ *Arm. Gos. Inf.* was first published by E. Tayec'i in 1898⁹⁵ from two MSS of the Mechitarist library in Venice (*Mat.* 7574 [fols. 1r–150r], dated to 1240; and the mutilated *Mat.* 5599 [fols. 1r–353r], dated to 1347) and several fragments. Two further MSS mentioned by Peeters remain unpublished: one dated to 1666 from an Edschmiadsin monastery, and the other, Vienna 186, dated prior to 1710.⁹⁶ To date, the only full translation of the text into a Western language (French) is that of Peeters.⁹⁷ The origin of *Arm. Gos. Inf.* has not been determined concretely but it may have been mentioned by the twelfth-century Armenian writer Sargis Snorhali in his commentary on the Catholic epistles.⁹⁸ In addition, Samuel of Ani, a contemporary of Sargis, lists an "Infancy of the Saviour" brought to Armenia by Nestorian missionaries in 590.⁹⁹ Like *Arab. Gos. Inf.*, *Arm. Gos. Inf.* features material from *Prot. Jas.* (chs. 1–14) and stories of Jesus' sojourn in Egypt (chs. 15–18), but its contact with IGT is minor. Parallels are present only to *Ga* 9 (16:7–15, cf. 17:3–14), six (Zacchaeus becomes "Gamaliel" in 19–20:6), and thirteen (20:7–15). *Arm. Gos. Inf.* also features the *Jesus and the Dyer* (ch. 21). Most interesting for the discussion of IGT is *Arm. Gos. Inf.*'s version of the *Fall of Zeno*.

⁹⁴ Voicu, "Verso," 18–19. Peeters ("Introduction," xxx), however, believed the compiler of *Arm. Gos. Inf.* used a Syriac source for his text. Émile de Strycker showed that *Arm. Gos. Inf.*'s *Prot. Jas.* material, at least, derives from an old Armenian version (*La forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques* [Subsidia Hagiographica 33; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1961], 372–3). For a detailed discussion of the text see Peeters, "Introduction," xxix–l.

⁹⁵ Tayec'i, *Ankanon girk'*, 2:1–126 (recension A), 2:127–236 (recension B).

⁹⁶ See Peeters, "Introduction," xxxiv–xxxv.

⁹⁷ Michel and Peeters, *Évangiles Apocryphes*, 2:69–286. Extracts are provided by de Santos (*Los Evangelios Apócrifos*³, 353–59), Erbetta (*Gli Apocrifi Del Nuovo Testamento*, 1.2:124–185), Gonzalez-Blanco (*Evangelios Apócrifos*, 2:88–236), and Moraldi (*Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento*, 1:89–94). For a summary of its contents see James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 83–84. Cullmann, "Infancy Gospels²," (p. 457) and Elliott (*The Apocryphal New Testament*, 118–119) offer brief discussions.

⁹⁸ Peeters, "Introduction," xxx; James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 83.

When Jesus is brought to trial for pushing the boy to his death, he raises the dead boy so that he can be exonerated, and then allows the boy to die again. Of all the other IGT witnesses, only *Gs* has Zeno “sleep” again.

3.2.5 Ethiopic

The Ethiopic version of IGT comprises chapter eight of *Ta'amra 'Iyasus* (*Miracles of Jesus*) (*CANT* 45), a large biographical work compiled from various canonical and noncanonical sources. Grébaut published the IGT section of the *Miracles* in 1919 as part of his ceaseless efforts to publish the entire text.¹⁰⁰ His edition was based on a late manuscript of the Bibliothèque nationale (*d'Abbadie* 168 [fols. 1r–111r], 19th c.) with four others employed in the apparatus. Since his day it has been determined that the compilation derives from an Arabic *Gospel of John* (*CANT* 44) written in the tenth or eleventh century from Syriac sources and perhaps translated into Ethiopic in the fourteenth century. This Arabic original, however, did not contain the IGT material; the childhood stories seem to have been added in the Ethiopic milieu at a later date. The origin of the IGT episodes is difficult to determine. Gero, van Rompay, and Voicu have all suggested direct translation from a Greek original.¹⁰¹ If so, the text would have been introduced into Ethiopia prior to the seventh century. A Syriac or Arabic original introduced after the Muslim conquest is more likely. The contents of IGT in *Eth* represent

⁹⁹ Ibid. Peeters and James are both disinclined to identify this text with *Arm. Gos. Inf.*

¹⁰⁰ Grébaut, “Les miracles de Jésus.”

¹⁰¹ Gero (“The Infancy Gospel of Thomas,” 53 n. 4) first suggested a path of transmission from Syriac via Coptic, a theory which van Rompay discounted as a doubtful premise (“De ethiopische versie,” 132 n. 47). In his 1988 article, Gero postulated a translation direct from Greek due to *Eth*’s use of the Greek letters in the *Teacher* stories (“The Ta’amra ’Iyasus,” 167). Voicu (“Verso,” 23) agreed.

the short recension (lacking *Ga* 1, 10, 17 and 18), but *Ga* 12 is placed at the end of the collection along with the story of *Jesus Rides the Sunbeam*. Notable also is *Eth*'s version of *Ga* 13 which is cast here as a story of Jesus learning his father's trade without any hint of the miraculous in his actions.

The MS base for the *Miracles of Jesus* has been considerably expanded since Grébaut's edition.¹⁰² There are now 25 MSS that feature either IGT or a shorter recension of infancy material based on stories from the later infancy gospels.¹⁰³ Only one of these MSS predates the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁴ A new edition of the text seems warranted, especially given Gero's assessment of Grébaut's base MS as a "deviant text."¹⁰⁵ *Eth* has been extremely important in the study of IGT. It is due to van Rompay's 1980 comparison of sections from *Eth*, *Syr*, *Lv*, and *Geo* that the theory of a short recension arose. Voicu developed the theory further and reached the conclusion that *Eth* represents the best witness to the original form of the Greek text.¹⁰⁶

This overview of the versions makes it clear that much work has yet to be completed on the various IGT traditions before the process of assembling a comprehensive critical edition can begin. The Latin, Old Latin, Syriac, and Ethiopic traditions all beg for new critical editions of their own. Until such time as they are

¹⁰² See the list in Arras and van Rompay, "Les Manuscrits éthiopiens."

¹⁰³ Three tales—variants of *Jesus and the Dyer*, *Jesus Rides the Sunbeam*, and *Jesus and the Sparrows*—are found, though not always together, in several MSS.

¹⁰⁴ The exception, *Vat. Cerulli Ethiop.* 238 of the fifteenth century, contains only *Jesus and the Dyer*.

¹⁰⁵ Gero, "The Ta'amra 'Iyasus," 166; see also Voicu, "Verso," 22. Gero's assessment was based on a comparison with other MSS of the *Miracles* that are closer to the Arabic *Gospel of John*.

¹⁰⁶ Voicu, "Verso," 19–23.

completed, the published MSS of the versions will have to serve for comparison against the Greek texts.

CHAPTER 4

Text and Translation

4.1 Editing Principles.

The critical edition of IGT which follows incorporates all published and unpublished Greek MSS of the text as well as the numerous versions. Since there are four distinct Greek recensions of IGT, the results are arranged in a four-column synoptic chart. The best MS of each recension forms the base text in each of the columns.

Column one contains *Gs*. The text of this recension is represented by *H*, the only MS of its type. Verse divisions generally agree with those created by Tischendorf for *Ga*, but the chapter numbering diverges following ch. 9 where *Gs* moves directly on to ch. 11. The verse divisions of ch. 6 follow the divisions used by Voicu (“Verso”) but their numbering runs from 1 to 10 instead of the more clumsy 1, 2, 2a–f, 3, 4. The chapter order for all four recensions follows that of *Gs*, as does the numbering used in the headers above the text—except, that is, for chs. 17 and 18 where the numbering reflects *Gac*. In the story of *Jesus in the Temple* (*Gs* 17/*Gac* 19) such unlikely readings as ἀπέμεινεν and ἐζητήτε are retained in the text to facilitate comparison with the various MSS of Luke.

Column two features *Ga*. The base MS of this recension is *W*, chosen because it is the most complete witness to the recension (it contains all of the speech from ch. 6) and because it agrees well with *Sl*. Every attempt has been made to present the text as it stands in *W*; however, where this MS appears deficient, readings from other *Ga* MSS are

substituted. Large substitutions or additions are signaled in the text by their enclosure in brackets. Readers are urged to examine the critical apparatus for smaller variants that agree with the other recensions and which, therefore, may represent more original readings. *Ga*'s chapter numbering follows the convention established by Tischendorf, except for the ch. 6 material which follows Voicu's divisions. The story of *Jesus and the Dyer* is included as an appendix to ch. 8. Though there is little MS evidence for the tale (it is found only in the *P* MS) and is likely a secondary addition, it is retained in an effort to present a complete summary of all the *Ga* witnesses. Readers should note also the disruption in correlation between the columns at *Ga* 12 where *Ga* places a reference to Jesus' age in 12:2 while all other witnesses place it at 13:1.

Column three contains *Gc*. The base MS of this recension is *A*, the fifteenth-century MS edited by Delatte which is still the only complete witness to the recension. As with *Ga*, the text features the occasional substitution or addition of readings from *T* where *A* appears deficient. Delatte did not divide *Gc* into chapters and verses; but its agreements in form with *Ga* in all but the Egyptian Prologue allow for the use of Tischendorf's and Voicu's *Ga* numbering and divisions. The Egyptian Prologue, included here in an edition preceding the synopsis, follows the verse divisions used by Voicu.

Column four features *Gb*. The two extant MSS of this recension are nearly identical to one another; generally, however, the edition follows *S*, the first published MS, except where *S* seems to be in error. The chapter numbering and verse divisions follow Tischendorf's edition of *Gb*. At times this leads to problems aligning the readings in all four recensions (see *Gb* 7:1; 9:3; and 11:2). Nevertheless, every attempt has been made to keep the synopsis as clear as possible. For the story of *Jesus in the Temple* (*Gs*

17/*Gac* 17) column four is given over to the version of the tale from Luke 2:41–52. The Luke text follows the edition of Barbara Aland et al.¹

The critical apparati generally follow the method employed by *Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum*. However, the four-column format makes some departures from this method necessary, principally to save space. I have endeavoured to employ a “negative apparatus”—i.e., to provide testimony only for readings that depart from the base text. Full *sigla* information is provided only when a variant is used in the edition that departs from the base MS. Simple vowel substitutions and the use of optional *nu* are not listed in the apparati, nor are accenting variations unless the intended word cannot be determined. Late translations made from a particular recension are included in the relevant column’s apparatus—i.e., *Sl* is found with *Ga*, *Lt* with *Gc*. Variants from the early versions are found in the English translation which follows the Greek text.

The English translation presents the text in the form that it is found in *Gs*. Readings from the other Greek sources, where important, and the versions, where they may be more original, are provided in the notes. For the Latin witnesses, *Lv* alone is reproduced when extant; at other times relevant readings from *Lm* or *Ir* are provided in its place. The situation is similar for the Syriac witnesses: *SyrW* is preferred, but where it has deficiencies, readings from the other Syriac MSS are noted instead.

¹ *The Greek New Testament* (4th ed.; Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1993).

4.2 Sigla Used for the Edition.

Column One: Gs.

H Jerusalem, *Cod. Sabaiticus* 259

Column Two: Ga.

W Vienna, *Cod. hist. Gr* 91

V *Cod. Vatopedi* 37

P Paris, *A. F. Gr* 239

O Vienna, *Phil. Gr* 162

Sl Slavonic version based on an English translation prepared by T. Allan Smith from the critical edition of Rosén (*The Slavonic Translation*, 58–77).

α = *B+D+M*

B Bologna, *Univ.* 2702

D Dresden, *A* 187

M Samos, B. Metropoleos, *MS Gr* 54

Thilo Thilo, *Codex Apocryphus*, 277–315. “Thilo & c.” indicates agreement by all subsequent scholars.

Tisch Tischendorf, *EA*², 140–157. “Tisch & c.” indicates agreement by all subsequent scholars.

Santos de Santos, *Los Evangelos Apócrifos*³, 285–306.

Bon Bonaccorsi, *Vangeli apocrifi*, 110–151.

Sch Schneider, *Apokryphe Kindheitsevangelien*, 148–71.

Note: two additional Greek editions, those of Michel (“Évangile de Thomas,” 161–89) and Hock (*The Infancy Gospels*, 104–43), have not been incorporated into the apparatus as they differ very little from Tischendorf’s edition.

Column Three: Gc.

A Athens, *Cod. Ath. Gr* 355

T Vienna, *Cod. theol. Gr* 123

R Rome, *Vat. Palat. Gr* 364

Lt Tischendorf’s edition (*EA*², 164–80) based on Rome, *Vat. lat.* 4578 (fols. 37v–44r), 13/14th c.

Del Delatte, “Évangile de l’enfance.”

Column Four: Gb.

S *Cod. Sinaiticus Gr* 453

C *Cod. Sinaiticus Gr* 532

Tisch Tischendorf’s edition (*EA*², 158–63) of *Gb* based on *S*.

4.3 Textual Signs.

- <> indicate a word, words or letters added to the base MS by the editor or previous editors.
- [] indicate a word, words or letters which have been restored from a lacuna.
- [...] indicate a lacuna in the MS that cannot be satisfactorily restored. Numbers within the brackets (e.g. [-15-]) indicate an approximation of the number of words missing due to the damage.
- * indicates letters present in the MSS that cannot be deciphered.
- indicates a blank space in the MS.
- ac ante correctam
- om. (as distinct from "deest in") indicates an omission by an editor of a word or words that are present in the MS(S).
- pc post correctam
- exp. indicates a scribe's expunction of any kind (erased, crossed out, dots placed above the letters). Full details are provided in the description of the witnesses.

4.4 Sigla Used in the English Translation.

- SyrW* Wright's edition (*Contributions*, 11–16) of the Syriac MS Br. Libr., *Add. 14484*.
- SyrG* Baars and Heldermann's collation ("Neue Materielen," 194–97) of the Syriac MS Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek *Syr. 10*.
- SyrP* Peeters' partial translation (Michel and Peeters, *Évangiles apocryphes*, 2:304–308) of the Syriac MS Bib. Vat., *Syr. 159*.
- SyrB* Budge's edition (*The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, 1:67–76) of the Syriac *Life of Mary Alqoš* MS.
- Geo* Garitte's Latin translation ("Le fragment géorgien," 516–20) of the Georgian MS Tblisi, *Cod. A 95*.
- Eth* Grébaut's French translation ("Les miracles de Jésus," 625–42) of chapter eight of the *Miracles of Jesus*.
- Lv* Philippart's edition ("Fragments palimpsestes," 406–8) of the Latin palimpsest *Vindobonensis 563*.
- Lm* Tischendorf's edition (*EA*², 93–112) of the IGT material in *Ps.-Mt.* based on the MSS Paris, Bibl. nat., *lat. 1652 (D)* and *Vat. lat. 4578 (A)*.

- Ir* Carney's edition and English translation (*The Poems of Blathmac*, 89–105) of National Library of Ireland *MS G 50*.

Περὶ τῶν ἔχαισίων καὶ φρικτῶν θαυμάτων ὧν ἐποίησεν ὁ κυρίος ἡμῶν
Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, νήπιος ὧν, συγγραφέντων παρὰ Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἀδελφοθέου.

1 [f. 61^v] Θορύβου γενομένου, ἐζητεῖτο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρώδου τοῦ
βασιλέως. τότε οὖν ἄγγελος κυρίου λέγει τῷ Ἰωσήφ· ἐγερθεὶς παράλαβε τὸ
παιδίον καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ φεῦγε εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπὸ προσώπου
τοῦ Ἡρώδου· ζητοῦσι γὰρ τὸ παιδίον τοῦ ἀπολέσαι αὐτό. ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς
5 τότε ἑτῶν δύο ὅτε εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον.

2 Καὶ διαβαινόντων αὐτῶν διὰ τῶν σπορίμων, ἤρξαντο τίλλειν τοὺς
στάχους καὶ ἐσθίειν.

3 Καταλαβόντων οὖν τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ἦλθον εἰς οἶκόν τινος χήρας καὶ
ἐποίησαν ἐκεῖ ἐνιαυτὸν ἓνα.

4 Καὶ ἰδὼν τὰ παιδία τῶν Ἑβραίων ὁ Ἰησοῦς παίζοντα, συνέπαιζεν
αὐτοῖς. καὶ λαβὼν ὀψάριον ἀλμισμένον ἔβαλεν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ εἰπὼν·
ἀποτίναξον τὸ ἄλας καὶ νῆχε ἐν τῷ ὕδατι. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ τῆς γειτονίας τὰ
γινόμενα ἀπήγγειλαν εὐθέως (τῇ χήρᾳ ἔνθα ἦν Μαρία συνοικοῦσα). ὥς δὲ
5 ἤκουσε ταῦτα ἡ γυνή, σπουδαίως ἀπελθοῦσα ἐδίωξεν αὐτούς.

5 Παρερχόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ διὰ τὰς πλατείας τῆς
πόλεως, εἶδε διδάσκαλον καθηγητὴν διδάσκοντα παιδία. δώδεκα οὖν
στρουθία κατελθόντα ἀπὸ τείχους ἐμάχοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἔπεσον

1 Matt 2:13.

2 cf. Mark 2:23 par.

4 cf. Acts Pet. 13.

AR Lt

Titulus *deest in A, incipit tractatus de pueritia Iesu secundum Thomam Lt* || 2 συγγραφέντος R.

1-4 = Lt I, 1-4 || 1, 1 θόρυβος R || *pr.* τοῦ: *deest in R* || 2 βασιλέως: *add. ut etiam interficeret Lt* ||
κυρίου: *deest in Lt* || τῷ Ἰωσήφ: τῇ Μαριάμ R || ἐγερθεὶς: *deest in R Lt* || λάβε R || 3 καὶ—
αὐτοῦ: *deest in R* || εἰς: εἰς τὴν R || 4 Ἡρώδου: *eorum qui quaerunt eum interficere Lt* || ζητοῦσι—
αὐτό: *deest in Lt* || αὐτόν R || 5 δύο: β R || ἦλθεν R.

2, 1/2 καὶ—ἐσθίειν: *et deambulante eo per agrum seminatum, porrexit manum et tulit de spicis et
posuit eas super ignem et trituvit, et coepit comedere Lt* || 1 ἤρξατο R || τείλον R.

3, 1 καταλαβόντων R Lt: -οντες A || ἦλθον: *deest in R* || τινος R Lt Del: τινας A || χήρας: *add.
εἰσῆλθεν R* || 2 ἐποίησαν Del: -σεν A, -σον R || ἓν R.

4, 1 ante καὶ: *add. et factus est Iesus anni tertii Lt* || ὁ Ἰησοῦς: *deest in R* || 2 ἀλμισμένον Del ||
ἔβαλεν—εἰπὼν: *et misit eum in pelvim, et praecepit ei ut palpitaret. Et coepit palpitare. Et dixit ad
piscem Lt* || ἀποτίξον R || 3 νῆχε: ἐνήχε R, ambula Lt || ὕδατι: *add. et factum est ita Lt* || τῆς: τοὺς R
|| 4 τῇ—Μαρία: τὴν ἦν τὴν χήρα ἔνθα Μαρία R || τῇ χήρᾳ Del: τὴν χήρα A || ἤκουσε: οἰκουσεν R
|| 5 σπουδαίως R: σπουδέως A.

5-7 = Lt II, 1-3 || 5, 1 αὐτοῦ μητρὸς R || τὰς: τῆς R || *alt.* τῆς: τοῖς R || 2 οἶδεν R || διδάσκοντα:
δίδασκον R || 3 ἐλθόντα R || ἀλλήλου R.

Concerning the extraordinary and awesome miracles which our Lord Jesus Christ did as a child and which were described by James the brother of God.

1 During the course of a disturbance Jesus was being sought by Herod the King.¹ Therefore, an angel of the Lord² then said to Joseph:³ "Rise, take the boy and his mother and flee from the face of Herod⁴ into Egypt, for they are looking for the boy in order to kill him. And Jesus was then two years old when he went into Egypt.

2 And while they were passing through the corn fields, they began to pluck the ears of corn and eat them.⁵

3 When they came to Egypt they went into the house of a certain widow. And they remained there one year.

4 And when Jesus⁶ saw the children of the Hebrews playing, he played along with them. And, taking a salted fish, he threw it into the water saying:⁷ "Shake off the salt and swim⁸ in the water."⁹ And when the neighbours saw what happened, they immediately reported it. Mary was living there with a widow. When the woman heard of these events, she rushed off and chased them away.

5 And as Jesus was going through the streets of the city with his mother, he saw a master teacher teaching his children. Then twelve sparrows came down from a wall and were fighting with one another. And they fell

¹ *Lt* adds "to kill him."

² *Lt* lacks "of the Lord."

³ The angel appears to Mary in *R*, contrary to Matt 2:13 but consistent with v. 8 below.

⁴ For "Herod" *Lt* reads, "those who wish to kill him."

⁵ The chapter is longer in *Lt*: "and as he was walking through a field of corn, he stretched forth his hand, and took of the ears, and put them over the fire, and rubbed them, and began to eat."

⁶ In *Lt* the chapter begins: "and Jesus was in his third year."

⁷ *Lt* reads "he took a dried fish, and put it into a basin, and ordered it to move about. And it began to move about. And he said to the fish...."

⁸ *Lt* has "walk."

⁹ *Lt* adds "and so it came to pass." The same miracle is found in *Acts Pet.* 13: "But Peter turned round and saw (smoked?) fish hanging in a window; and he took it and said to the people, 'If you now see this swimming in the water like a fish, will you be able to believe in him whom I preach?' And they all said with one accord, 'Indeed we will believe you!' Now there was a fish-pond near by; so he said, 'In thy name, Jesus Christ, in which they still fail to believe' (he said) 'in the presence of all these be alive and swim like a fish!' And he threw the tunny into the pond, and it came alive and began to swim" (Schneemelcher).

ἐξαίφνης εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ καθηγητοῦ. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐγέλασεν.

6 Ὡς δὲ εἶδεν αὐτὸν ὁ καθηγητὴς γελῶντα, θυμοῦ πλησθεὶς εἶπε· [ἄγαγέ τέ μοι αὐτόν ὧδε. ὡς δὲ ἤγαγον αὐτόν, ἔτεινεν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὠτίον καὶ εἶπεν·] τί ἰδὼν ἐγέλασας; ὁ δὲ [f. 61^v] πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη· καθηγητά, ἰδοὺ γυνὴ χήρα ἔρχεται πρὸς σε βασταύζουσα σῖτον ὃν μετὰ κόπου ἡγοράσατο καὶ ὧδε ἔχει
5 προσκόψαι καὶ διασκορπίσαι τὸν σῖτον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάχονται τὰ στρουθία ταῦτα, πόσους κόκκους δεῖ ἕκαστον λαβεῖν.

7 Οὐκ ἀνεχώρησε δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἕως οὐ τὸ εἰρημένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπληρώθη. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ διδάσκαλος τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Ἰησοῦ εἰς ἔργον γεγονότας, ἐκέλευσε διωχθῆναι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ.

8 Ἄγγελος δὲ κυρίου ὑπήντησε τῇ Μαριὰμ λέγων αὐτῇ· παράλαβε τὸ παιδίον καὶ ἄπελθε εἰς γῆν Ἰουδαίας, τεθνήκασι γὰρ οἱ ζητοῦντες τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ παιδίου. ἀναστᾶσα δὲ Μαριὰμ μετὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Ἰησοῦ, ἦλθον εἰς Καπερναοὺμ, πόλιν Τιβεριάδος, εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῶν.

9 Γνοὺς δὲ [ὁ Ἰάκωβος ὅτι ἀνήχθη] ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, συνέστειλεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν Ἡρώδου ἕως οὐ κατέπαυσεν ὁ θόρυβος ἐν Ἰερουσαλὴμ. καὶ ἡρξάμην δοξάζειν τὸν θεόν, κἀγὼ Ἰάκωβος, τὸν δόντα μοι σοφίαν ὅτι ἐξηῦρον <χάριν> ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ
5 γράψαι τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην.

8 Matt 2:19–21.

9 Prot. Jas. 25:1–3.

AR Lt

5, 4 ἐγέλασεν: *add. et statit Lt.*

6, 1 αὐτόν: *deest in R* || 1/2 ἄγαγέ—εἶπεν *R Lt: deest in A* || 3 ἐγέλασας *R* || 3–5 καθηγητά—σῖτον: *Magister ecce manus plena tritico. Ostendi illis et sparsi triticum, quod in periculo e medio gerunt Lt* || 3/4 ἔρχεται χήρα *R* || ὃν: *add. ὃν R* || ἀγοράσασα *R* || καὶ ὧδε: ὁ δὲ *R* || 5 προσκόψαι *R* || μάχοντα *R* || 6 κόπους *R* || δεῖ *Del: δὴ A, δι' R.*

7, 1 οὐ τὸ: οὗτοι *R* || ὑπ' αὐτοῦ: *deest in R* || 2 ἰδὼν—γεγονότας: *et hoc facto Lt.*

8/9 = *Lt III, 1–2* || 8, 2 γῆν: τὴν *R* || οἱ: ἡ *R* || 3 Ἰωσήφ καὶ: *deest in Lt* || εἰσῆλθον εἰς *R* || 4

Καπερναοὺμ—Τιβεριάδος: *Nazareth Lt* || πόλει *R* || Βεριάδος *codd.* || αὐτῶν: *sui Lt.*

9, 1 γνοὺς—Ἰησοῦς: *ut autem exiit Ioseph Lt* || *pr.* ὁ—ἀνήχθη *R: deest in A* || 2 συνέστειλεν: *tulit Lt* || ἑμαυτὸν *R* || 3–5 καὶ—ταύτην: *et agit gratias deo quod dedit intelligentiam, et quia invenit gratiam coram domino deo Lt* || 3 Ἰερουσαλὴμ: *de his qui quaerebant animam pueri Lt* || κἀγὼ Ἰάκωβος: *deest in R* || 4 ἐξέρευνον *R* || χάριν: *gratiam Lt, deest in AR* || 5 ταύτην *R: αὐτοῦ ἀμὴν A.*

suddenly into the lap of the teacher. Seeing this, Jesus laughed.¹⁰

6 When the teacher saw him laughing, he was filled with anger and said: "Bring him to me here." And when they had brought him, the master pulled his ear and said: "What did you see to make you laugh?" And Jesus said to him: "Teacher, look. The widow woman comes to you carrying grain which she bought with hard work. And here she must stumble and squander the grain.¹¹ And because of this these birds squabble amongst themselves over how many grains each must grab."

7 And Jesus did not go away until what he said had been fulfilled. The teacher, seeing that the words of Jesus had become deeds, ordered him driven from the city along with his mother.

8 And the angel of the Lord met Mary,¹² saying to her: "Take the boy and return to the land of Judea, for those seeking the soul of the boy are dead." Rising, Mary, along with Joseph¹³ and Jesus, went into Capernaum, a city of Tiberias,¹⁴ to their¹⁵ homeland.

9 And James, knowing that Jesus had come up from Egypt, hid himself in the desert¹⁶ after the death of Herod until the commotion in Jerusalem had ceased. And I, James,¹⁷ began to praise God, the one who gave me wisdom, because I found favour¹⁸ before him,¹⁹ to write this history.

¹⁰ *Lt* adds "and stood still."

¹¹ Jesus begins the explanation quite differently in *Lt*: "Master, see my hand full of wheat. I showed it to them, and scattered the wheat among them, and they carry it out of the middle of the street when they are in danger." Voicu ("Verso," 63), and James ("The Gospel of Thomas," 51-52) before him, attributes the transformation from widow to hand from the translator's misreading of $\chi\eta\rho\alpha$ as $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha$.

¹² The angel appears to Joseph in Matt 2:19-21.

¹³ *Lt* lacks "Joseph."

¹⁴ *Lt* lists only "Nazareth" as the destination.

¹⁵ *Lt* reads "her."

¹⁶ *Lt* reads: "And when Joseph went out of Egypt after the death of Herod, he kept him in the desert." In *A* the implied subject is Jesus, who keeps himself in the desert. The verse, taken from *Prot. Jas.* 25:1-3, is reproduced more faithfully in *R. A*'s alteration here, therefore, is probably due to error. The Latin translator changes James to Joseph likely because he retains Thomas as the author of chs. 1-19, whereas *Gc* is attributed entirely to James.

¹⁷ "And he" *Lt*. Subsequent personal pronouns are altered accordingly.

¹⁸ "Favour," missing in *Gc*, is supplied by *Lt*.

¹⁹ The chapter ends here in *Lt*.

Gs

[f. 66^v] Τὰ παιδικὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ
δεσπότη ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρος
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

I Ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην

ἐγὼ Θωμᾶς Ἰσραηλῆτις γνωρίσαι
πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐξ ἔθνων ἀδελφοῖς

- 5 ὅσα ἐποί[f. 66^v]ησεν ὁ
κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς
γεννηθεὶς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἡμῶν Βηθλεὲμ
κώμη Ναζαρέτ.

Ga

[f. 199^v] Λόγος Ἰσραηλῆτις φιλοσόφου
εἰς τὰ παιδικὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ κυρίου
ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

I Ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην

ἐγὼ Θωμᾶς Ἰσραηλῆτις πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ
ἔθνων ἀδελφοῖς γνωρίσαι τὰ παιδικὰ
καὶ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ, ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ
κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς
γεννηθεὶς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἡμῶν <Βηθλεὲμ
ἐκ χώρας Ναζαρέτ>.

H

titulus post titulum: εὐλόγησον δεσπότη.

WVPOαSI

titulus λόγος—Χριστοῦ: ἱστορία καὶ μερική
[καὶ μέρη καὶ μέρηκη *cod.*] θαῦματα διήγησις
Θωμᾶ Ἰσραηλῆτις καὶ φιλοσόφου εἰς τὰ
παιδικὰ καὶ μεγαλεῖα αὐτοῦ κυρίου
ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ *V*, λόγος εἰς τὰ παιδικὰ
[καὶ τοῦ μεγαλεῖα *exp.*] τοῦ κυρίου καὶ
σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ *P*, παιδικὰ τοῦ
κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ *O*, Θωμᾶ Ἰσραηλῆτις φιλοσόφου ῥητὰ
εἰς τὰ παιδικὰ τοῦ κυρίου [*add.* Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ
M, ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ *D*] *α*, The acts and
childhood of our Lord, God and Saviour Jesus
Christ *SI* || 2 μεγαλεῖα: κεφάλαια *W* || 3 *post*
titulum: κύριε εὐλόγησον *W*, δεσπότη εὐλόγησον
V, Father bless *SI*.

I, 2/3 ἀναγκαῖον—Ἰσραηλῆτις: *post* Χριστὸς
(6) *pos.* *O* || 1 ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην *WPO* Santos
Bon Sch: ἀναγγέων δικτάσω *V*, ἀναγγέλλω
ὑμῖν *α SI* Thilo Tisch || 2 Ἰσραηλῆτις: *add.* the
chosen one *SI* || ἅπασιν *O* || 2/3 ἐξ ἔθνων *VPOα*:
ἔθνεσιν *W* || 3 γνωρίσαι ἀδελφοῖς *O* || γνωρίσαι:
γ. θέλω *V*, I saw *SI* || παιδικὰ *V* || 4/5 καὶ—
Χριστοῦ: *deest in O* || 4 τοῦ κυρίου: *deest in V* ||
4/5 ἡμῶν—Χριστοῦ: *deest in VP* || 5 ἐποίησεν:
add. and his passion *SI* || 5/6 ὁ—Χριστὸς: *deest in*
α || 6 ἡμῶν: *add.* καὶ Θεοῦ *P* || Χριστὸς: *des.* *O* ||
7/8 Βηθλεὲμ—Ναζαρέτ *V SI*: ἐν τῇ Βηθλεὲμ
ἐξιστάμενος *P*, *deest in Wα*.

Gc

I [f. 61^v] Ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην
 κἀγὼ γνωρίσαι
 πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ ἔθνων ἀδελφοῖς
 ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ
 κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς
 γεννηθεὶς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἡμῶν Βηθλεὲμ καὶ
 ἐν κώμῃ Ναζαρέτ.

Gb

[f. 109^v] Σύγγραμμα τοῦ ἁγίου
 ἀποστόλου Θωμᾶ περὶ τῆς παιδικῆς
 ἀνατροφῆς τοῦ κυρίου.

I Ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην
 ἐγὼ Θωμᾶς ὁ Ἰσραηλῆτης γνωρίσαι
 πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐξ ἔθνους ἀδελφοῖς τὰ
 παιδικὰ μεγαλεῖα
 ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ
 κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς
 ἀναστρεφόμενος σωματικῶς
 ἐν πόλει Ναζαρέτ,

5

AR Lt

I = *Lt* IV, praefatio || 1–9 ἀναγκαῖον—αὕτη:
 gloriosum est enarrare Thomam Israelitam et
 apostolum domini et de operibus Iesu postquam
 egressus est de Egypto in Nazareth. Intelligite
 omnes, fratres carissimi, quae fecit dominus Iesus
 quando fuit in civitate Nazareth: quod in primo
 capitulo *Lt* || 1 ἀναγγέων *R* || 2 κἀγὼ:
 ἐγὼ Ἰάκωβος *R* || 3 πᾶσοι *R*.

SC

Gs
ὧν ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐστὶν αὕτη.

Ga
<ὧν ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐστὶν αὕτη>.

II 1 Τὸ παῖδιον

Ἰησοῦς πενταέτην ἦν καὶ

βροχῆς

γενόμενης

5 ἔπαιζεν ἐπὶ διαβάσειν βῆκος. καὶ

ταράσσοντα ὕδατα τὰ πύπαρα ὄντα

συνήγαγεν εἰς ἅκκους.

10 καὶ ἔποιε αὐτὰ καθαρά καὶ
ἐνάρπτα τῇ καταστάσει λόγου μόνου
καὶ οὐκ ἔργῳ ἐμπαύσας αὐτοῖς.
2 Ἐτα ἄρας ἐκ τῆς ὕλης μὴλον

καὶ ἔποιε αὐτὰ εὐθέως καθαρά καὶ
ἐνάρπτα εἶναι μόνω λόγῳ
καὶ οὐκ ἔργῳ ἐμπαύσεν αὐτὰ.
2 Ἐπάρας δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὕλης

II 1 Τὸ παῖδιον ὁ

Ἰησοῦς πενταέτης γενόμενος

βροχῆς

γενόμενης

ἔπαιζεν ἐπὶ διαβάσειν βῆκος, καὶ

τά βέοντα ὕδατα <πύπαρα ὄντα>

συνήγαγεν εἰς ἅκκους,

H

II, 1, 9 ποιῆ cod. || 10 μόνων cod. || 11 ἔργων

cod..

2, 1 φηλέως cod..

9 ὧν—αὕτη VP: οὐ ἡ ἀρχὴ οὐτως α. *deest in W,*

WVPO α SI

corruptum est SI.

II, 1, 1 τὸ: τὸ δὲ V, τὸ γὰρ P, τοῦτο τὸ α || ὁ:

deest in VPO || 2 πενταέτης: four SI || γενόμενος:

add. καὶ O || 3/4 βροχῆς γενόμενης: βροχῆς δὲ

γενόμενης καὶ παυόμενης τῆς βροχῆς ὁ Ἰησοῦς

P, *deest in α* Thilo Tisch || 5 ἔπαιζεν: παίζων ἦν

α || ἐπὶ διαβάσεις: ἐπὶ διαβάσειν VO, ἐπὶ

διόδευσε τινὸς P, ἐν διαβάσει α || 6 τὰ βέοντα:

καταρρέοντα V, παραρρέοντα P || πύπαρα ὄντα

O SI: *deest in WVPO* Thilo & c. || 7 συνήγαγεν O α

SI: -ετο P, παρθετικῶν ἀγαγε [ἡγάγευ V] WV ||

ἅκκους: a single stream SI, *add. μὲθ' ἐτρέφαν*

παίδων τῶν Ἑβραίων P || 9 ἔποιε αὐτὰ

εὐθέως: αὐτὰ τὰ ὕδατα παραρχήμα ἐγένοντο P

|| καθαρά εὐθέως O || καθαρά D || 9/10 καὶ

ἐνάρπτα: *deest in α* || 10 εἶναι: *deest in VP α* ||

λόγῳ μόνῳ V α, λόγῳ δὲ μόνῳ PO || 11 καὶ οὐκ

ἔργῳ: *deest in P α, add. ὄντος V* || ἐμπαύσας VO ||

αὐτὰ: αὐτοῖς VO, *add. καὶ πάντως*

ὑπετάσσοντο αὐτῷ P.

2, 1 ἐπάρας—αὐτῶν: καὶ ποιήσας α || ἐπάρας:

ἐπαύσαντος P, ἔτα ἄρας O || ὕλης O SI:

ἐφάλεος W, ἐμφυλέως V, χεϊλέως P.

Gc

οὐ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐστὶν αὕτη.

Gb

II 1 [f. 62'] Μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τὸν
Ἰησοῦν ἑτῶν πέντε,
γενομένης βροχῆς

ἔπαιζεν ἐπὶ διαβάσιν ρύακος, καὶ τὰ
μὲν ρυπαρὰ ὕδατα
συνήγαγεν εἰς λάκκους,

καὶ εὐθέως ἐποίει αὐτὰ καθαρὰ τῷ
λόγῳ αὐτοῦ.

2 Εἶτα πάλιν ἐπάρας πηλὸν καθαρὸν

(I) ἐλθὼν

ἐν πέμπτῳ ἔτει τῆς αὐτοῦ ἡλικίας.

II 1 Μιᾶ τῶν ἡμερῶν βροχῆς [f. 110']
γενομένης ἐξελθὼν τοῦ οἴκου οὗ ἦν ἡ
μήτηρ αὐτοῦ ἔπαιζεν ἐν τῇ γῇ, ἔνθα 5
κατέρρεον ὕδατα καὶ ποιήσας λάκκους,
κατήρχοντο τὰ ὕδατα, καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν
οἱ λάκκοι ὕδατος.

εἶτα λέγει· θέλω ἵνα γένησθε καθαρὰ
καὶ ἐνάρετα ὕδατα, καὶ εὐθέως 10
ἐγένοντο.

III 1a Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐποίησεν ἐξ

II, 2 Gos. Bart. 2:11.

III, 1 Gos. Bart. 2:11.

AR Lt

9 αὐτῷ R.

II, 1 =Lt IV, 1 || 1, 2 πέντε: $\bar{\epsilon}$ R || 3 γενομένη R ||
βροχῆς: *add. et deambulavit puer Iesus per eam Lt*
|| 5 ἐπὶ διαβάσιν ρύακος Del: ἐπιδιάβα εἰς
ρύακα *codd., deest in Lt* || 6 μὲν ρυπαρὰ: μὲρ
παρὰ R || 7 λάκκον R, piscinam Lt || 9 εὐθέως:
deest in R || ἐποίει: *praecepit Lt* || αὐτὰ αὐτὰ R ||
10 αὐτοῦ: αὐτοῦ Del, *add. et statim facta est Lt*.
2-4 =Lt IV, 2 || 2, 1 ἐπάρα R || καθαρὸν: *deest in Lt*.

SC

II, 1, 1 πέπτῳ *codd.* || 7 ἐπλήθησαν Tisch.

Gs

τρυφερόν ἔπλασεν ἐξ
αὐτοῦ στρουθία ἱβ. ἦν δὲ σάββατον ὅτε
ταῦτα ἐποίει καὶ πολλὰ παιδία
5 ἦσαν σὺν αὐτῷ.

3 Ἰδὼν δέ τις Ἰουδαῖος τὸ
παιδίον Ἰησοῦν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
παιδίων ταῦτα
ποιούντα, πορευθεὶς πρὸς Ἰωσήφ τὸν
5 πατέρα αὐτοῦ διέβαλεν τὸ
παιδίον Ἰησοῦν λέγων· ὅτι σάββατον

πηλὸν ἐποίησεν ὃ οὐκ ἔξεστιν καὶ
ἔπλασεν στρουθία ἱβ.

4 Καὶ ἐλθὼν Ἰωσήφ

Ga

αὐτῶν πηλὸν τρυφερόν ἔπλασεν ἐξ
αὐτοῦ στρουθία ἱβ. ἦν δὲ σάββατον ὅτε
ταῦτα ἐποίει παίζων. ἦν δὲ καὶ πολλὰ
παιδία παίζοντα σὺν αὐτῷ.

3 Ἰδὼν δέ τις Ἰουδαῖος αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν
ὃ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ,

ἀπῆλθεν καὶ ἀπήγγειλε τῷ
πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἰωσήφ
λέγων· ἰδοὺ τὸ παιδίον σου
παίζων ἐπὶ τὸ ρυάκιν, καὶ ἤρεν
πηλὸν καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ στρουθία
ἱβ, καὶ ἐβεβήλωσεν τὸ σάββατον.

4 Καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον

2, 3/4 cf. Mark 2:24 par; John 2:10.

2, 3/4 cf. Mark 2:24 par; John 2:10.

H

2 αὐτῶν *cod.*.

WVPOα SI

2 αὐτῶν: *deest in Oα* || τρυφερόν: *add.* καὶ *V* || 3
στρουθία: *add.* τὸν ἀριθμὸν *P* || ἱβ: δώδεκα *O* ||
3/4 ἦν—παίζων: *deest in P* || 3 ἦν δὲ: καὶ ἦν *α* || 4
ἐποίησεν *Oα* || παίζων: *deest in α* || ἦν δὲ: ἦσαν
οὖν *P*, ἦσαν δὲ *α*, *deest in O* || καὶ: *add.* ἄλλα *α*,
add. τὰ *P* || πολλὰ: *des.* *O* || 4/5 πολλὰ παιδία:
παιδ. πολ. *α*, παιδία *P*, παιδία τῶν Ἰουδαίων
V || 5 παίζων *V* || αὐτῷ: *des.* *O*.

WVPα SI

3, 1 ἐποίησεν: ἐποίει *Vα*, *add.* παίζοντα σὺν
αὐτῷ *V* || 2 ὁ: *deest in P* || Ἰησοῦς: *add.* ὅτι *α*
Thilo || τῷ: *deest in VPα* || σαββάτῳ: *add.*
παίζων *α SI*, πλάττων τὸν πηλὸν *P* || 4
ἀπῆλθεν: *add.* παραχρῆμα *Vα*, εὐθέως *P* ||
ἀνήγγειλε *α* || 4/5 τῷ—Ἰωσήφ: Ἰωσήφ τῷ
πατρὶ αὐτοῦ *V* || 6 λέγων: *deest in α* || 7 παίζων:
παίζει *V*, ἐστὶν *α* || τὸ: *om.* Sch || τὸ ρυάκιν: τῇ
ρυάκι *V*, τοὺς ρυάκας *P*, τὸ ρήακον *α* || ἤρεν:
εὗρεν *V*, λαβὼν *α* || 8 καὶ: *deest in α* || ἐποίησεν:
ἔπλασεν *VPα SI* || ἐξ αὐτοῦ: *deest in α* ||
στρουθία: πουλία *α* || 9 βεβηλοῖ *P*.

4, 1 ὁ *WP B Thilo: deest in V DM Tisch & c.* ||
Ἰωσήφ: — *V*, *add.* Ἰωσήφ *sup. l. V* || 1/2 τὸν—
ἰδὼν: [-5-] *V*.

Gc

ἐκ λάκκου ἐποίησε δώδεκα
στρουθία. ἦν δὲ σάββατον ὅτε
ταῦτα ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς παίζων μετὰ
τῶν παιδῶν τῶν Ἑβραίων.

3

Gb

ἐκείνου τοῦ πηλοῦ
στρουθία ἰβ. ἦν δὲ σάββατον.

1b καὶ δραμῶν ἐν παιδίον

5

Ἀπῆλθον δὲ πρὸς Ἰωσήφ τὸν
πατέρα αὐτοῦ,
λέγοντες αὐτῷ· ἰδοὺ τὸ παιδίον σου
παίζον μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐπῆρε
πηλὸν καὶ ἐποίησε δώδεκα στρουθία.

4 Καὶ ἀπελθὼν ὁ Ἰωσήφ λέγει

ἀπήγγειλε
τῷ Ἰωσήφ
λέγων· ἰδοὺ τὸ παιδίον σου
παίζει περὶ τὸ ρύακιν,
ποιήσας ἐκ τοῦ πηλοῦ στρουθία, ὃ οὐκ
ἔξεστιν.

2a Ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐπορεύθη καὶ λέγει

5

2, 3/4 cf. Mark 2:24 par; John 2:10.

1a, 3 cf. Mark 2:24 par; John 2:10.

*AR Lt*2 δώδεκα: ἰβ *R* || 4 παίζων: inter *Lt*.3, 4 ἀπῆλθον: abierunt pueri Iudaeorum dicentes *Lt*|| 4-8 Ἰωσήφ—στρουθία: *deest in R* || 8στρουθία: *add. quod non fuit dignum facere in
sabbato et fregit illud Lt*.4, 1 καὶ ἀπελθὼν: *deest in R* || ὁ: τῶν *R*.*SC*1b, 6 παιδὶ *S*, παιδὶν *C*.

Gs

ἐπετιμᾶ αὐτὸν λέγων· διὰ
τί τὸ σάββατον ταῦτα
ποιεῖς; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς συγκροτήσας τὰς
5 χεῖρας μετὰ φωνῆς ἐπιτάξαντα ὄρνεα
ἐνώπιον πάντων. καὶ εἶπεν· ὑπάγετε,
πετάσθητε ὡς
ζῶντες. τὰ δὲ στρουθία πετάσθεντες
ἀπῆλθαν κεκραγόντα.

5 Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ φαρισαῖος
ἐθαύμασεν καὶ
ἀπήγγειλεν πᾶσιν τοῖς φίλοις αὐτοῦ.

III 1 Ὁ δὲ υἱὸς Ἄννα τοῦ
ἀρχιερέως λέγει αὐτῷ· τί ποιεῖς

Ga

καὶ ἰδὼν ἀνέκραξεν αὐτὸν λέγων· διὰ
τί ποιεῖς ἃ οὐκ ἔξεστι ἐν σαββάτῳ;
ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς συγκροτήσας τὰς
χεῖρας ἀνέκραξεν τοῖς στρουθίοις
καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ὑπάγετε, <καὶ
πετάσθητε καὶ μέμνησθέ μου
ζῶντες>. καὶ πετασθέντα τὰ στρουθία
ὑπῆγον κράζοντα.

5 Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι
ἐθαμβήθησαν, καὶ ἀπελθόντες
διηγῆσαντο τοῖς πρώτοις αὐτῶν ὅπερ
ἰδὼν σημεῖον πεποιηκότος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

III 1 Ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ Ἄννα
ἀρχιερέως ἦν ἐστὼς ἐκεῖ μετὰ

III cf. Mark 3:1–6 par || 1, 1/2 Ἄννα ἀρχιερέως
Luke 3:2; John 18:13, 24; Acts 4:6; *Prot. Jas.* 15:1;
Gos. Nic. 1.

H

4 ποιῆς *cod.* || 7–9 ὑπάγεται πετάσθεται ὡς
ἐζῶντες *cod.*

III cf. Mark 3:1–6 par || 1, 1/2 Ἄννα ἀρχιερέως
Luke 3:2; John 18:13, 24; Acts 4:6; *Prot. Jas.* 15:1;
Gos. Nic. 1.

WVPαSI

2 αὐτῷ α || 2/3 διὰ τί: διατί Tisch & c. || 2–4 διὰ
—σαββάτῳ: διὰ τί ταῦτα ποιεῖς ἐν σαββάτῳ
[σαββάτον B] ἃ οὐκ ἔξεστι [ἔστι V^{ac}] ποιεῖν VPα
|| συγκροτήσας: [συγ exp.] κροτήσας V || 5
χεῖρας: παλάμας P, *add.* αὐτοῦ Pα || 6 ὑπάγετε
P D Thilo & c.: -εται WV BM, *deest* in SI || 6–8 *alt.*
καὶ—ζῶντες P SI: πετάσθητε καὶ μνημονεύετε
μου ζῶντα V, *deest* in Wα || 8/9 καὶ—κράζοντα:
καὶ πετασθέντων τῶν στρουθίων ἐξῆλθον
κράζοντα P, *deest* in V || 9 κράζοντα P: κράζων
Wα

5, 1 οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι: everyone SI || 3 διαγῆσαντο VP
α: ἐδιηγῆσαντο W || πρώτοις αὐτῶν: the others
SI || 4 ἰδὼν—Ἰησοῦ: εἶδον [*add.* εἶν M]
πεποιηκότα τὸν Ἰησοῦν α, ἰ. σ. πεποιηκὼς
ὁ Ἰησοῦς P, ἰ. σ. πεποιηκότα τὸν Ἰησοῦν V.
III, 1, 1 τοῦ: *post* Ἄννα *pos.* VP Tisch & c., *deest*
in α Thilo || 2 ἀρχιερέως: γραμματέως VP α SI ||
ἦν: ὦν α.

Gc

τῷ Ἰησοῦ· ἵνα τί
οὕτως ἐποίησας ὃ οὐκ ἔξεστι ποιεῖν ἐν
σαββάτῳ; ὃ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κροτήσας τὰς
χεῖρας
λέγει τοῖς στρουθίοις· ὑπάγετε,
πετάσαντες καὶ μιμνήσκεσθέ μου οἱ
ζῶντες. καὶ πετάσαντα τὰ στρουθία
ἀπῆλθον κρίζοντα.

5

Ἀπήγγειλαν
πᾶσι
τὸ σημεῖον ὃ ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς.

III 1 Ἄννας δὲ
γραμματεὺς ἐκεῖ ἦν μετὰ

Gb

πρὸς τὸ παιδίον· [f. 110^v] ἵνα τί
ταῦτα ποεῖς, βεβηλώσας τὸ
σάββατον; ὃ δὲ Ἰησοῦς
οὐκ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἐμβλέψας 5
ἐπὶ τὰ στρουθία λέγει· ὑπάγετε,
πετάσθητε καὶ μιμνήσκεσθέ μου
ζῶντα. καὶ ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ πετασθέντα
ἀνῆλθον εἰς τὸν ἀέραν.

2b καὶ ἰδὼν Ἰωσήφ
ἐθαύμασεν.

II 2a Διερχόμενος δέ τις παῖς Ἄννα
τοῦ γραμματέως

III cf. Mark 3:1–6 par.

II, 2/3 cf. Mark 3:1–6 par.

AR Lt

2 Ἰησοῦ: τῷ *R* || **3** ἔξεστι: ἦν *R* || ποιεῖν: *post*
σαββάτῳ (4) *pro. R* || **4** κροτήσας: *apertis Lt, des.*
R || **6** λέγει: *praecepit Lt* || **7** μιμνήσκεσθέ μου: *a*
nemime mortem invenietis Lt || **7/8** οἱ ζῶντες *Del:*
οἱ ζητοῦντες *A, deest in Lt* || **9** κρίζοντα: *add et*
volantes coeperunt clamando laudare deum
omnipotentem Lt.

A Lt

5, 2–4 ἀπήγγειλαν—Ἰησοῦς: *videntes autem*
Iudaei quae facta sunt admirati sunt, et abierunt
nuntiantes signa quae fecit Iesus Lt.

III, 1 = *Lt IV, 3* || **1/2** Ἄννας δὲ γραμματεὺς:
Pharisaeus Lt.

SC

7 ὑπάγεται *S* || **10** ἀέρα *C.*

Gs

- οὕτως ἐν σαββάτῳ; καὶ λαβὼν κλωνὸν
 ἰτέας κατέστρεψεν τοὺς λάκκους
 5 καὶ ἐξέχεεν τὸ ὕδωρ ὅνπερ
 συνήγαγεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς. καὶ τοὺς
 συ[*f. 67^r*]ναγωγάς αὐτῶν ἐξήρανε.

2 Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὸ
 γεγονὸς
 εἶπεν αὐτῷ·

- 5 ἄριζος ὁ καρπὸς σου καὶ ξηρὸς ὁ
 βλάστος σου ὥς κλάδος ἐκκομιζόμενος
 ἐν πνεύματι βιαίῳ.

3 Καὶ εὐθέως ὁ παῖς ἐκεῖνος
 ἐξηράνθη.

5

Ga

τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, καὶ λαβὼν κλάδιον
 ἰτέας <κατέστρεψε τοὺς λάκκους
 καὶ> ἐξέχεεν τὰ ὕδατα αὐ
 συνήγαγεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς.

2 Ἰδὼν δὲ τὸ παιδίον Ἰησοῦς <τὸ
 γινόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ> ἠγανάκτησεν,
 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἄδικε, ἀσεβὴ καὶ
 ἀνόητε, τί ἠδίκησάν σε τὰ ὕδατα καὶ οἱ
 λάκκοι; ἰδοὺ νῦν καὶ σὺ ὥς δένδρον

ἀποξηρανθεῖς, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐνέγκῃς φύλλα
 οὔτε ρίζαν οὔτε καρπὸν.

3 Καὶ εὐθέως ὁ παῖς ἐκεῖνος
 ἐξηράνθη ὅλος. [*f. 200^r*] ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς
 ἀνεχώρησεν καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον
 αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ γονεῖς
 τοῦ ξηρανθέντος, ἐβιάσταν αὐτόν,

2, 5–7 cf. John 15:6; Matt 3:10; Luke 3:9; Gos.
 Thom. 40.

H

3 οὗτος *cod.*.

2, 6 ἐκκομιζόμενος *cod.* || 7 βιαίῳ *coni.* Voicu,
 “Verso”: τιμίῳ *cod.*.

2, 5–8 cf. John 15:6; Matt 3:10; Luke 3:9; Gos.
 Thom. 40.

WVPαSI

3 τοῦ: *deest in P* || κλάδον *VPα* || 4/5 κατέστρεψε
 —καὶ *V SI: deest in WPα*.

2, 1 τὸ παιδίον: ὁ *α* || Ἰησοῦς: *deest in V* || 1/2 τὸ
 γινόμενον: *deest in W* || 2 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ: *deest in Wα*
 || 3 αὐτῷ: πρὸς αὐτόν *Vα* || ἄδικε—ἀνόητε:
impure, senseless Sodomite SI || ἀσεβὴς Thilo ||
 ἄδικε ἀσεβὴ καὶ: *deest in P* || 4 σε—λάκκοι: σε οἱ
 λάκκοι καὶ ἐξέχεας τὰ ὕδατα *P*, σοι τὰ ὕδατα
V, οἱ λάκκοι καὶ τὰ ὕδατα *α* || 7 ἀποξηρανθεῖς
VP α: ἀποξηρανθῆς Thilo & c., ἀποξηραθὲν ὁ *W*
 || 8 ρίζαν: κλάδους *P*.

3, 1 εὐθέως: *add. that same hour SI* || ὁ παῖς
 ἐκεῖνος: *deest in P* || 1/2 ὁ—ἐξηράνθη: ἐξ. ὁ παῖς
V || 2 ὅλος: *deest in V* || 3 ἀνεχώρησεν καὶ: *deest*
in SI || καὶ ἀπῆλθεν: *deest in V* || 4 αὐτοῦ: Ἰωσήφ
α || 5 ἐβιάσταν: *add. φέροντες P* || 5–9
 ἐβιάσταν—τοιαῦτα: *came and said to Joseph:*
 Look what you have for a child *SI*.

Gc

του Ἰησοῦ καὶ λαβὼν κλάδον
 ἰτέας διέτρεψε τοὺς λάκκους
 καὶ ἐξέχεε τὸ ὕδωρ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὃ
 συνήγαγεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς.

2 Ὃν ἰδὼν τοῦτο

ποιήσαντα, ἠγανάκτει κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ
 εἶπε· σοδομίτα, ἄσεβῆ καὶ ἀνόητε,
 τί σε ἠδίκησαν οἱ λάκκοι οἱ ἐμοὶ καὶ τὰ
 ἐμὰ ὕδατα; ἰδοὺ νῦν ὥς δένδρον

ἀποξηρανθεῖς, καὶ μὴ ἔχῃς ρίζαν
 μήτε φύλλα μήτε καρπὸν.

3 [f. 62^v] Καὶ

πεσῶν ἐξηράνθη παραχρῆμα.

ἐλθόντες δὲ οἱ γονεῖς

αὐτοῦ ἦραν αὐτὸν παραχρῆμα

Gb

καὶ βαστάζων ράβδον ἐξ
 ἰτέας κατέστρεψε τοὺς λάκκους διὰ
 τῆς ράβδου, καὶ ἐξεχύθη τὰ ὕδατα. 5

2b καὶ στραφεὶς

ὁ Ἰησοῦς
 ἔφη αὐτῷ· ἄσεβῆ καὶ παράνομε,
 τί σε ἠδίκησαν οἱ λάκκοι καὶ
 ἐξεκένωσας αὐτούς; οὐ μὴ ἀπελεύσει 5
 τὴν ὁδὸν σου, καὶ
 ἀποξηρανθεῖς ὥς τὴν ράβδον ἥνπερ
 κατέχεις.

3 Καὶ πορευόμενος μετὰ μικρὸν

πεσῶν ἀπέψυξε. καὶ ἰδόντα τὰ παιδία
 τὰ συμπαίζοντα αὐτῷ ἐθαύμασαν, καὶ
 ἀπελθόντα ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ πατρὶ τοῦ
 τεθνεώτος. καὶ δραμὼν εὔρε τὸ 5

2, 5–8 cf. John 15:6; Matt 3:10; Luke 3:9; *Gos.*
Thom. 40.

2, 6–8 cf. John 15:6; Matt 3:10; Luke 3:9; *Gos.*
Thom. 40.

A Lt

4 λάκκους: *fontem Lt* || 5 ἐξ αὐτῶν: *deest in Lt* || 6
 συνήγαγεν: *fecit Lt*.

2, 1/2 ὃν—ποιήσαντα *coni.* Del, ὄνειδος τοῦτο
 ποιήσαντι *cod.* || 3 ἄσεβες Del || 4/5 λάκκοι—
 ὕδατα: *fontes aquae Lt* || 7 ἀποξηρανθῆς Del ||
 ἔχεις *cod.* || 8 φύλλα: *folia Lt*, κεφαλὴν *cod.*

3, 2 παραχρῆμα: *add. et mortuus est Lt*.

SC

3 ράβδον: *ραῦδον codd.*, βαῦδον Tisch || 5
 ράβδου: *ραῦδου codd.*, βαῦδου Tisch.

2b, 5 ἀπελεύσεις *S* || 7 ἀποξηρανθῆς Tisch ||
 ράβδον: *ραῦδον codd.*, βαῦδον Tisch.

Gs

Ga

<θρηνούντες τὴν νεότητα αὐτοῦ,
καὶ ἤγαγον πρὸς τὸν Ἰωσήφ>
λέγοντες αὐτῷ ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἔχεις
παιδίον ἐργαζόμενον τοιαῦτα.

IV 1 Ἐκεῖθεν

πορεύομενου αὐτοῦ μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς
αὐτοῦ Ἰωσήφ καὶ τρέχων ἐκεῖνος
ἐρράγη εἰς τὸν ὦμον αὐτοῦ.

5 καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς·
ἐπικατάρατός σοι ὁ ἡγεμών σου. καὶ
εὐθέως ἀπέθανεν.

καὶ εὐθύς ὁ λαὸς
ἐβόησαν ἰδόντες ὅτι ἀπέθανεν. καὶ

10 εἶπαν· πόθεν τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο
ἐγεννήθη ὅτι τὸ ῥῆμα αὐτοῦ
ἔργον ἐστίν;

2 Οἱ δὲ γονεῖς

τοῦ ἀποθάνοντος παιδίου θεασάμενοι
τὸ γεγονώς, Ἰωσήφ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ

IV 1 Εἶτα πάλιν

ἐπορεύετο ὁ Ἰησοῦς
διὰ τῆς κώμης, καὶ παιδίον τρέχων
διερράγη εἰς τὸν ὦμον αὐτοῦ.

καὶ πικρανθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ·
οὐκ ἀπελεύσει τὴν ὁδόν σου. καὶ
παραχρήμα πεσὼν ἀπέθανεν.

ἰδόντες δέ τινες
τὸ γινόμενον

εἶπον· πόθεν τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον
ἐγεννήθη, ὅτι πᾶν ῥῆμα ἔτοιμον ἦν καὶ
εἰς ἔργον;

2 Καὶ προσελθόντες οἱ γονεῖς

τοῦ τεθνεώτος

H

IV, 1, 4 ὦμον: ὄνομον *cod.* || σοι: συ *cod.*

WVPα SI

6/7 θρηνούντες—Ἰωσήφ *VPα SI: deest in W* || 7
ἤγαγον: ἤγοντο *P, add.* αὐτὸν *V* || τὸν Ἰωσήφ:
[τὸν Ἰω]σήφ *V* || 8 λέγοντες αὐτῷ *W*: καὶ
ἐνεκάλουν [*add.* λέγοντες *V*] *VPα* || ὅτι: *deest in*
V || τοιοῦτον: [τοιού]τον *V* || 9 παιδίον: *deest in*
V || τοιαῦτα: *add. in marg.* ἕτερον *B, add.* εἶτα
ὁ Ἰησοῦς παρακληθεὶς παρὰ πάντων,
ιάτρευσε αὐτὸν, ἐάσαντος τι μέλος τινὰ
ἀργὸν ὀλίγον εἰς τὸ προσέχειν αὐταὺς *P*.
IV, 1, 1 εἶτα πάλιν: πάλιν οὖν *P* || 2 ὁ Ἰησοῦς:
post πάλιν *pos. VP, deest in α* || 3 τρέχων: -ον
Thilo, -οντα *W* || 3/4 τρέχων διερράγη εἰς:
jumped onto *SI* || 10 τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο *V* || 11
ἐγεννήθη: *deest in W* || 11/12 πᾶν—ἔργον:
πᾶν ῥῆμα αὐτοῦ ἔργον ἐστὶν ἔτοιμον *VPα*,
everything happens readily by his word and deed *SI*.
2, 2 τοῦ: *deest in W* || τεθνεώτος: *add.* τῷ
Ἰωσήφ *Pα*, τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ *V*.

Gc

τεθνηκότα.
κατεμέμφοντο δὲ τὸν Ἰωσήφ
λέγοντες ὅτι ἔχεις τοιοῦτον
παιδίον καὶ ἰδὲ τί ποιεῖ ἡμῖν. δίδαξον
αὐτὸ εὐλογεῖν καὶ μὴ καταρᾶσθαι.

10

IV 1 Εἶτα μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας
περιπατῶν ὁ Ἰησοῦς μετὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ
εἰς τὴν κώμην καὶ δραμῶν ἐν παιδίον
ἔδωκε τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ὦμον.
καὶ ὀργισθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγει αὐτῷ·
οὐκ ἀπελεύσει τὴν ὁδόν σου. καὶ
εὐθέως πεσὼν ἀπέθανεν.
οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι ἰδόντες τὸ θαῦμα
ἀνεβόησαν
λέγοντες πόθεν ἦν τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο;

2 Καὶ

Gb

παιδίον τεθνηκός. καὶ ἀπῆλθεν
ἐγκαλῶν τῷ Ἰωσήφ.

IV 1 Μετὰ δέ τινας ἡμέρας
διερχομένου τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μέσον
τῆς πόλεως, παιδίον τι ρῖψαν λίθον
κατ' αὐτοῦ ἔπληξεν αὐτοῦ τὸν ὦμον.
καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς·
οὐκ ἀπελεύσει τὴν ὁδόν σου. καὶ
εὐθέως καταπεσὼν κάκεῖνος ἀπέθανεν.
οἱ δὲ τυχόντες
ἐξεπλάγησαν
λέγοντες· πόθεν τὸ παιδίον τοῦτό
ἐστίν, ὅπως πᾶν ῥῆμα ὃ λέγει ἔργον
γίνεται ἔτοιμον;

5

10

2 Ἀλλὰ κάκεῖνοι

ἀπελθόντες ἐγκάλουν

A Lt

8/9 ἔχεις—ἡμῖν: ecce quod fecit filius tuus Lt || 10
εὐλογεῖν—καταρᾶσθαι: orare et non blasphemare
Lt.

IV, 1/2 = Lt V, 1 || 1, 3 δραμὸν Del || 5 ὀργισθεὶς:
deest in Lt || αὐτό cod. || 7 πεσὼν Del || 8
Ἰουδαῖοι: deest in Lt || 9 ἀνευόησαν cod.

SC

6 παιδί S || 7 Ἰωσήφ: add. λέγων· ἰδοὺ τὸ
παιδίον σου S^{sc}.

IV, 1, 10 παιδί S || 11 ὅπως: ὅτι C.

- Gs*
 ἐμέμφοντο
 5 λέγοντες· ὅθεν τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο ἔχων
 οὐ δύνασαι οἰκεῖν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐν
 τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ.
 εἰ θέλεις
 εἶναι ἐνταῦθα δίδαξον αὐτὸν εὐλογεῖν
 10 καὶ μὴ καταρᾶσθαι. τὸ γὰρ παιδίον
 ἡμῶν ἐστερήθημεν.

- Ga*
 ἐμέμφοντο τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἰωσήφ
 λέγοντες· σὺ τοιοῦτον παιδίον ἔχων
 οὐ δύνασαι εἶναι μεθ' ἡμῶν ἢ οἰκεῖν ἐν
 τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ,
 ἢ δίδαξον αὐτῷ εὐλογεῖν
 καὶ μὴ καταρᾶσθαι. τὰ γὰρ παιδία
 ἡμῶν θανατοῖ.

- V 1** Καὶ λέγει τῷ Ἰησοῦ ὁ Ἰωσήφ·
 ἵνα τί τοιαῦτα λάλεις; καὶ
 πάσχουσιν αὐτοὶ καὶ μισοῦσιν ἡμᾶς.
 5 καὶ εἶπεν τὸ παιδίον
 τῷ Ἰωσήφ· φρόνιμα ῥήματά

- V 1** Προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἰωσήφ
 τὸ παιδίον κατ' ἰδίαν ἐνουθέτει αὐτὸ
 λέγων· ἵνα τί τοιαῦτα κατεργάζεται; καὶ
 πάσχουσιν οὗτοι καὶ μισοῦσιν ἡμᾶς καὶ
 διώκουσιν; εἶπε δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς
 αὐτῷ· ἐγὼ οἶδα ὅτι τὰ ῥήματά

H

4 πόθεν *cod.* || 11 ἐσταίρηθημεν *cod.*.
 V, 1, 3 λαλῆς *cod.*.

WVPα SI

4 ἐμέμφοντο: κατεμέμφοντο *VP Tisch & c., deest in α Thilo* || λέγοντες: *add. αὐτὸν V* || 5 τοιοῦτον: τοῦτο τὸ *P* || παιδίον ἔχων: ἔχεις παιδίον *V*, παιδίον ἔχεις *α* || δυναμάσαι *P D* || 6 εἶναι: *deest in VPα SI* || ἢ: *deest in VPα SI* || 7 κώμη: πόλει [*add. ἡμῶν P*] *VP* || ταύτῃ: *deest in VPα* || 9 ἢ δίδαξον: δίδαξον δὲ *V*, ἢ δίδασκε *Pα* || δίδαξον: *add. τὸ παιδίον σου P* || αὐτὸν *VP B* || 10 καταρᾶσθαι: *add. ἢ ἐξελθε σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν ὧδε P* || 10/11 τὰ—θανατοῖ: καὶ γὰρ κατὰρα αὐτοῦ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν θανατοῖ *V* || 11 θανατοῖ: -εἰ *α*, plays wickedly with *SI*.
V, 1, 1 προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ: καὶ προσ. *α* || ὁ: *deest in V* || 2 ἰδίαν *P*: οἰδίαν *W*, ἰδίης *V* || ἐνουθέτει: instructed *SI* || αὐτὸν *α* || 2/3 αὐτὸ λέγων: *deest in V* || 3 ἵνα τί *Thilo*: ἵνατὶ *Tisch & c.* || τοιαῦτα κατεργάζεται: οἷους τοῦς ἀράσαι *V* || κατεργάζῃ *Thilo* || 4 οὗτοι: οὕτως *P*, οἱ παιδῆς τῶν Ἑβραίων *V* || μισοῦσιν: μισοῦν *P* || 5 διώκουσιν: *add. of the village SI* || ὁ: *deest in V* || 6 αὐτῷ: *deest in VPα*.

Gc

ἔλεγον τῷ Ἰωσήφ·

οὐ δύνασαι οἰκεῖν μεθ' ἡμῶν παιδίον
 τοιοῦτον ἔχων. λαβὲ αὐτὸ καὶ
 ἀναχώρησον ἀπεντεῦθεν. εἰ θέλεις
 οἰκεῖν μεθ' ἡμῶν δίδαξον αὐτὸ εὐλογεῖν
 καὶ μὴ καταρᾶσθαι. τὰ γὰρ παιδία
 ἡμῶν ὥς ἀνάπηρα ἐποίησεν.

V 1 Προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἰωσήφ
 τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐνουθέτει αὐτὸν κατ' ἰδίαν
 λέγων· διὰ τί καταρᾶσαι; καὶ
 πάσχουσι καὶ μισοῦσιν ἡμᾶς καὶ
 διώκουσιν ἐκ τῆς κώμης; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς
 εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἐγὼ οἶδα ὅτι τὰ ῥήματά

Gb

πρὸς Ἰωσήφ
 λέγοντες·

5

οὐ δυνήσῃ μεθ' ἡμῶν οἰκεῖν
 ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ.
 εἰ δὲ βούλῃ,
 δίδασκε τὸ παιδίον σου εὐλογεῖν
 καὶ μὴ καταρᾶσθαι. καὶ γὰρ τὰ παιδία 10
 ἡμῶν θανατοῖ, καὶ πᾶν ὃ λέγει ἔργον
 γίνεται ἔτοιμον.

Va Καὶ καθίσας ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἐπὶ τοῦ
 θρόνου αὐτοῦ, ἔστη τὸ παιδίον
 ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ.

5

A Lt

5 εἰκεῖν *cod.* || 7 ἔχων: *add.* ille autem abiit et tulit
 eum. Et dixerunt ei Lt || 9/10 εὐλογεῖν—
 καταρᾶσθαι: orare et non blasphemare Lt || 11
 ὥς—ἐποίησεν: insensati sunt Lt || ἐποίησαν *cod.*..
 V, 1–3 = Lt V, 2/3 || 1, 2/3 ἐνουθέτει—λέγων:
 coepit eum docere Lt || 3 καταρᾶσαι: blasphemias
 Lt || 4/5 πάσχουσι—διώκουσιν: odium habent
 super nos Lt.

SC

8 βούλοι C || 9 παιδί S.
 Va, 2 παιδὶν S.

Gs

σου ἐγνώσθησαν· πόθεν ἦν τὰ ῥήματά
σου οὐκ ἄγνοεῖς· ἐπὶ πέντε
διηγήθησαν. καὶ ἐκεῖνα οὐκ ἀναστήσαντες
10 καὶ οὗτοι ἀπολήψονται τὴν κόλασιν
αὐτῶν. καὶ εὐθέως οἱ ἐγκαλοῦντες
αὐτὸν ἐτυφλώθησαν.

2

5 Ὁ δὲ

Ἰωσήφ ἐπελάβετο τοῦ
ωτίου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔτιλεν σφόδρα.

3 Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς

Ga

σου ταῦτα ἐμὰ οὐκ εἰσιν ἀλλὰ σά,
ὅμως σιγήσω διὰ σε.
ἐκεῖνοι δὲ
οἴσουσιν τὴν κόλασιν
αὐτῶν. καὶ εὐθέως οἱ ἐγκαλοῦντες
αὐτὸν ἐτυφλώθησαν.

2 Καὶ οἱ ἰδόντες ἐφοβήθησαν σφόδρα
καὶ ἠπόρουν, καὶ ἔλεγον περὶ αὐτοῦ· τί
ἐστιν τοῦτο; ὅτι πᾶν ῥῆμα, εἴτε καλὸν
εἴτε κακόν, ἔργον ἐγένετο.
ἰδόντες δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς
ἐγογγύσον ἐπὶ πλείον κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ
ἐγερθεῖς Ἰωσήφ ἐπελάβετο αὐτοῦ τὸ
ωτίον καὶ ἔτιλεν αὐτὸ σφόδρα.
3 Τὸ δὲ παιδίον ἠγανάκτησε καὶ

H

7 σὺ ἐγνώσκεις ἂν *cod.* || ἐπὶ πέντε: ἐπίπαιπα
cod. || 9 διήγησαν *cod.*..
2, 8 ἐτί ἄλλεν *cod.*..

WVP α SI

7 ἐμὰ οὐκ εἰσιν: οὐκ εἰσίν σα *P* Tisch & c. || ἐμὰ:
add. which I have spoken *SI* || ἀλλὰ σά: *deest in P*
SI, [-9-] *V* || ὅμως: [-4-] *V* || 7/8 ὅμως—σε: ἀλλὰ
διὰ σε σιγήσω *P* || 9 δὲ: *add.* οἱ εἰρηκότες σοι
ταῦτα *P* || 9/10 ἐκεῖνοι—τὴν: ἐκ[-14-] *V* || 10
οἴσουσιν *P*: ἥσουσιν *Wα* || τὴν κόλασιν: *grief SI* ||
11 αὐτῶν: τὴν αἰώνιον *P* || καὶ—ἐγκαλοῦντες:
[-10-] ὦντες *V* || εὐθέως *Pα*: *deest in W* || 12
ἐτυφλώθησαν *WVP* Thilo: ἀπετυφλώθησαν *α*
Tisch & c..
2, 1 οἱ *P* Tisch & c.: *deest in WVα* || ἐφοβήθησαν
σφόδρα: ἐφ. πάντες σφ. *P*, οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐμφόβοι
ἐγένοντο *V* || 2 ἠπόρουν: and dared no longer to
anger him *SI* || 2/3 τί ἐστιν τοῦτο: *deest in VPα SI*
|| 3 ῥῆμα: *add.* ὁ λέγει *P*, ὁ ἐλάλει *α* Thilo & c., ὁ
ἐὰν λάλη *V* || 3/4 εἴτε κακόν: εἴτε καλόν εἴτε
πονηρὸν *exp.* *V* || 4 ἔργον: *add.* *E sup. l. V*, *add.* ἦν
καὶ θαῦμα [*add.* μέγα *V*] *Vα*, γίνεται καὶ
ἐθαύμαζον *P* || 5 ἰδόντες: εἰδόντες *P*, ἰδὼν
Santos Sch || τοῦτο ὁ: ὅτι τοῦτο *P*, ἃ *V*, ὅτι
τοιούτον *α* || 6 ἐγογγύσον—καὶ: *deest in VPα SI*
|| ἐγερθεῖς: *add.* ὁ *VP* || Ἰωσήφ: *deest in α* ||
ἐπέλαβεν *α* || 7/8 τὸ—σφόδρα: *deest in V* || 8
αὐτὸ: *deest in α* || σφόδρα: *deest in P*.

Gc

Gb

οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐμέ, ἀλλὰ σά εἰσιν, ὅμως
ἔχω σιωπῆσαι διὰ σε.

ἐκεῖνοι δὲ

ἔξουσι τιμωρίαν

10

ἐαυτῶν. καὶ εὐθέως ἀγανακτοῦντες
ἐτυφλώθησαν.

2 [f. 63^v] Καὶ διηπόρουν μαινόμενοι. b

ἰδὼν δε ὁ

καὶ

5

Ἰωσήφ ἔτεινεν αὐτοῦ τὸ
ὥτιον.

κρατήσας αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ
ὥτιον ἔθλιψε σφοδρῶς.

3 Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ὀργισθεὶς ἠγανάκτησε

c ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀτενίσας

A Lt

SC

9–11 ἐκεῖνοι—ἐαυτῶν: ipsi autem videant in
sapientia sua Lt || 11 ἀγανακτῶντες cod..

7 αὐτὸ C.

2, 1 καὶ—μαινόμενοι: *deest in Lt* || μαινόμενοι:
add. et hi statim qui loquebantur adversus Iesum
caeci facti sunt. Et deambulantes dicebant: omnes
sermones qui procedunt de ore eius exercitium
habent Lt || 7 Ἰωσήφ: *add. cum furore Lt.*

Gs

εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἀρκέιτο σοι τὸ
ζητεῖν με καὶ εὐρίσκειν μὴ,
πρὸς τοῦτο [f. 67^v] καὶ μὴ λυπίζειν.

- 5 φυσικὴν ἄγνοιαν ἐπιλαβόμενος καὶ οὐκ
εἶδες μετὰ φῶς τί σοῦ εἰμι. ἴδε, οἶδας
μὴ λυπεῖν με. σὸς γὰρ εἰμι. καὶ πρὸς σε
ἐχειρώθην.

VI 1 Καθηγητὴς δέ, οὗ τὸ ὄνομα
Ζακχαῖος, ἐστὼς ἀκούσας
τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ταῦτα λέγοντος πρὸς
τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Ἰωσήφ ἐθαύμασεν
5 σφόδρα.

2 Καὶ
εἶπεν
τῷ Ἰωσήφ·

Ga

εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἀρκετόν σοί ἐστιν
ζητεῖν καὶ μὴ εὐρίσκειν,

μάλιστα ὅτι σοφῶς ἔπραξας.
οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι σὸς εἰμι. μὴ με
λύπει. <σὸς γὰρ εἰμι.>

VI 1 Καθηγητὴς δέ τις ὀνόματι
Ζακχαῖος, ἐστὼς ἐν μέρει ἤκουσε
τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ταῦτα λαλοῦντα πρὸς
αὐτὸν καὶ ἐθαύμασεν
σφόδρα ὅτι παιδίον τοιοῦτον ὃν
τοιαῦτα φθέγγεται.

2 Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας
προσῆγγισε τῷ Ἰωσήφ καὶ εἶπεν
αὐτῷ· ὦ ἀδελφε Ἰωσήφ, τὸ παιδίον

3, 2-4 cf. *Gos. Thom.* 2, 38, 92, 94; *Matt* 7:7; *Luke*
11:9-13; *John* 7:34; *Gos. Mary* 4:7; *Gos. Heb.* 6b;
Dial. Sav. 11:5.

3, 2/3 cf. *Gos. Thom.* 2, 38, 92, 94; *Matt* 7:7; *Luke*
11:9-13; *John* 7:34; *Gos. Mary* 4:7; *Gos. Heb.* 6b;
Dial. Sav. 11:5.

H

2 ἀρκετώ *cod.* || τῷ *cod.* || 3 ζήτην *cod.* || εὐρίσκην
cod. || 4 τούτω *cod.* || μὴ λυπίζειν: μόλοπιζήν
cod. || 6 εἶδες: ἴδες *cod.* || 7 λυπήν *cod.* || εἰμι: ἡμῖν
cod. || 8 ἐχειρίσθην *coni.* Voicu, "Verso."

VI, 1, 1 ὄνομα *cod.*

WVPαSI

2 ἐστίν: *add.* νῦν οὐ V || 3 ζητεῖν: *add.* for me SI ||
εὐρίσκειν: *add.* με V, αὐτοὺς καὶ P, καὶ Tisch & c.
|| 5 ὅτι WαSI Thilo: οὐ P Tisch & c., *deest in V* ||
σοφῶς ἔπραξας: *deest in SI* || 6 εἰμι: *deest in Vα* ||
6/7 μὴ με λύπει: *deest in V* || 7 σὸς γὰρ εἰμι αSI
Thilo: *deest in WVP* Tisch & c. || εἰμι: *add.* and I
have come to you SI.

VI, 1, 1 δέ τις: *deest in V* || 2 ἐν μέρει: *add.* τινὶ P
Tisch & c., *deest in SI* || 3 τοῦ: τῷ α || λαλοῦντος
VP || 3/4 πρὸς αὐτόν: τῷ Ἰωσήφ V, τοῦ πατρὸς
αὐτοῦ P, τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ α || 4 καὶ: *deest in V* ||
5 σφοδρῶς Tisch & c. || τοιοῦτον: *deest in VPα* ||
ὃν: ὡν α, *deest in V* || 6 τοιαῦτα: ταῦτα Santos.
2, 1/2 καὶ—προσῆγγισε: *deest in V* || 2/3 τῷ—
αὐτῷ: εἶπε δὲ Ζακχαῖος τῷ Ἰωσήφ V || 3 ὦ—
Ἰωσήφ: *deest in VPαSI* || 3/4 τὸ—ἔχει: ὅτι
παιδίον φρόνιμον ἔχεις καὶ νοῦν ἔχει P, ὅτι [ἐτι
D] νοῦν ἔχει καὶ φρόνιμον ἔχεις παιδίον α Thilo
& c., *deest in V*.

Gc

λέγων τῷ Ἰωσήφ· ἀρκεῖ σοι ὅτι
 βλέπεις με
 καὶ μή με λυπίζης.

οὐ γὰρ οἶδας τίς εἰμι.
 καὶ πρὸς σε
 πάρειμι.

VI 1 Διδάσκαλος δέ τις ὀνόματι
 Ζακχαῖος ἠκροᾶτο πάντα ὅσα
 ἐλάλει Ἰησοῦς πρὸς
 τὸν Ἰωσήφ καὶ ἐθαύμαζε
 λέγων ἐν ἑαυτῷ· τοιοῦτον παιδίον
 ταῦτα φθέγγεται.

2 Καὶ
 προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Ἰωσήφ λέγει
 αὐτῷ· φρόνιμον παιδίον

Gb

αὐτῷ εἶπεν· ἀρκετόν σοί ἐστιν.

5

VI 1a Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον κρατήσας
 αὐτοῦ τῆς χειρὸς ἤγαγε πρὸς τινα
 καθη[*f. 111'*]γητήν, Ζακχαῖον ὀνόματι,
 καὶ φησι πρὸς αὐτόν· λάβε τὸ παιδίον
 τοῦτο, καθηγητά, καὶ δίδαξον
 γράμματα.

5

1b καὶ
 φησιν ἐκεῖνος·

3, 2–4 cf. *Gos. Thom.* 2, 38, 92, 94; *Matt* 7:7; *Luke*
 11:9–13; *John* 7:34; *Gos. Mary* 4:7; *Gos. Heb.* 6b;
Dial. Sav. 11:5.

A Lt

4 λοπιάζεις *cod.*, λοπίζης *coni.* Del, λύπης *coni.*
 Gero ("The Gospel of Thomas," 68 n.4), tangere *Lt*
 || 6 εἰμι: *add.* quod si scires, non me contristares *Lt*
 || 7/8 καὶ—πάρειμι: et quamvis modo tecum sum,
 ante te factus sum *Lt*.
VI, 1–2a = *Lt* VI, 1 || 1, 1 διδάσκαλος: homo *Lt* || 6
 φθέγγεται: *add.* nunquam vidi *Lt*.

SC

- Gs*
 δεῦρο,
 5 δὸς αὐτό, ἀδελφέ, ἵνα παιδευθῇ
 γράμματα καὶ ἵνα γινῶ
 πᾶσαν
 ἐπιστήμην καὶ μάθῃ στέργειν
 ἡλικιώτας, καὶ τιμᾶν γῆρας καὶ
 10 ἡδεσθαι πρεσβυτέρους, ἵνα
 καὶ εἰς
- τέκνα πόθον κτήσασθαι ἔξιν ὁμοίως
 15 αὐτὰ ἀνταπαιδεύσῃ.
 3 Ὁ δὲ Ἰωσήφ
 εἶπεν τῷ καθηγητῇ καὶ τίς
 δύναται τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο κρατῆσαι
 καὶ παιδεῦσαι; αὐτὸ μὴ μικροῦ
 5 ἄνθρωπον εἶναι νομίσης, ἀδελφέ. ὁ δὲ
 καθηγητὴς εἶπεν· δός μοι αὐτό,

- Ga*
 σου φρόνιμόν ἐστι καὶ νοῦν ἔχει. δεῦρο
 παράδος μοι αὐτὸ ὅπως μάθῃ
 γράμματα. καὶ ἐγὼ διδάξω αὐτὸν μετὰ
 τῶν γρα[φ. 200']μμάτων πᾶσαν
 ἐπιστήμην καὶ
 προσαγορεύειν πάντας
 τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τιμᾶν αὐτοὺς
 <ὡς προπάτορας ἢ πατέρας καὶ
 ἀγαπᾶν> ἄλλα, καὶ πάντας τοὺς
 συνηλικιώτας, φοβεῖσθαι καὶ
 ἐντρέπεσθαι γονεῖς ὅπως καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ
 ἴδιον τέκνον ἀγαπηθῇσεται.
 2a Ὁ δὲ Ἰωσήφ ὀργισάμενος πρὸς
 αὐτὸν εἶπε τῷ καθηγητῇ Ζακχαίῳ· τίς
 δύναται τοιοῦτον παιδίον
 διδάξαι; μικροτέρου αὐτοῦ ὄντος
 μὴ νομίσης, ἀδελφέ.

H
 5 αὐτῷ *cod.* || 6 γινῶς *cod.* || 8 στέργην *cod.* || 9
 γῆρας· χήρας *leg. Voicu, "Verso"* || 10 ἐδήσθαι
cod. || 14 κτήσεται *cod.* || ἔξην *cod.* || 15
 ἀνταπαιδεύσι *cod.*
 3, 3 κρατεῖσε *cod.* || 4 παιδεύσε *cod.* || αὐτῷ *cod.* ||
 5 ἀνθρώπου *cod.* || νομήζης *cod.* || 6 αὐτῷ *cod.*

WVP α SI
 4 καὶ νοῦν ἔχει: *deest in SI* || 4/5 δεῦρο—ὅπως:
deest in M homoeoteleuton || 4 δεῦρο: *deest in V*,
add. οὖν P || 5 παράδος· δός *V* || αὐτὸν *V* || 5/6
 ὅπως μάθῃ γράμματα: *deest in V* || 5 μάθῃ: -οι
W, -ω *α*, *master SI* || 6 γράμματα: *des. P* ||
 γράμματα: *add. μάθητ W* || καὶ ἐγὼ· καὶ γὰρ *V* || 6
 αὐτὸ *α* || 6/7 μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων: *deest in SI* ||
 6-8 μετὰ—ἐπιστήμην: τὰ γράμματα *V* || 9
 πάντας *VPα* πάντες *W* || 11/12 ὡς—ἀγαπᾶν:
deest in WB || 11 ἢ: καὶ *α* || καὶ: *add. τοῦ α [om.*
Santos] || 12 ἀγαπᾶς *V* || ἄλλα καὶ: *his father and*
SI, deest in Vα || πάντας: *deest in α* || τοὺς: *deest*
in B || 13 συνηλικιώτας: *des. α*, *add. with humility*
SI || 13/14 φοβεῖσθαι καὶ ἐντρέπεσθε: καὶ τοῦ
 φο[-12-] τοὺς *V* || 14/15 ὅπως—ἀγαπηθῇσεται:
so that he too will be loved by his own and other's
children SI, deest in V.

WV SI

2a, 1/2 Ἰωσήφ—Ζακχαίῳ: Ἰω[-12-]κχαῖον *V* || 3
 δύναται—παιδίον: δύνα[-12-] *V* || 4/5
 μικροτέρου—ἀδελφέ: *do you think perhaps,*
brother, he is a young master? SI, deest in V.

Gc

ἔχεις καὶ καλὸν νοῦν ἔχει, ἀλλὰ
 παράδος μοι
 ἵνα μάθῃ γράμματα καὶ
 διδάξω αὐτὸν πᾶσαν
 ἐπιστήμην
 ἵνα
 μὴ ᾗ ἀνυπότακτον.

Gb

παράδος μοι αὐτό, ἀδελφέ, κἀγὼ
 διδάξω τὴν γραφήν, καὶ πείσω
 εὐλογεῖν πάντας καὶ μὴ καταρᾶσθαι.

5

10

2a Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Ἰωσήφ
 εἶπεν αὐτῷ· οὐ
 δύναταί τις τοῦτον ὑποτάξαι, εἰ μὴ
 μόνος Θεός. μὴ μικρὸν
 σταυρὸν νομίσης αὐτὸν εἶναι, ἀδελφέ.

5

A Lt

6 γράμματα: *add.* cum autem doctus fuerit in
 studio litterarum *Lt* || 7/8 πᾶσαν ἐπιστήμην:
 honorifice *Lt* || 10 μὴ ᾗ ἀνυπότακτον: non fiat
 insipiens *Lt* || ᾗ *Del:* ἐστὶν *cod.*
 2a, 4/5 μὴ—ἀδελφέ: numquid creditis, parvus erit
 parvulus iste? *Lt.*

*SC*4 αὐτῷ *S.*

G^sG^a

ἀδεῶφέ, καὶ μὴ σοὶ μελέτω.

4 Τὸ δὲ παιδίον ἰησοῦς ἐμβλέψας

αὐτοῖς

εἶπεν τῷ καθηγῆτῇ τούτου τὸν λόγον·

καθηγῆτης ὧν εὐφυνῶς ἐξηλάθες

5

καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ὃ ὀνομάζει ἀλλότριος

τυγχάνεις.

ἔξωθεν γὰρ εἰμι ὑμῶν. ἐνδοθεν δὲ ὑμῖν

10 δι' αὐτὴν σαρκικὴν εὐγενεῖαν ὑπαρχῶν.

σὺ δὲ νομίζεις ὧν, τὸν νόμον οὐκ οἶδεις.

15 πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἰωάννη λέγει·

ὅτε ἐγεννήσῃς ὧν ἔγωγ σοὶ παρειατῆκεῖν

ἴνα, πᾶτερ, παιδεύῃς παιδεῖαν παρ'

ἑμοῦ ἢν ἄλλος οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδὲ

20 διδάσκει δύναται.

3, 7 1 Cor 7:21.

4, 14 cf. John 7:49 || 16 cf. John 8:58.

John 7:14–16; 12:49–50; 14:24.

2b, 11–13 cf. John 8:14; Gos. Thom. 18 || 18–21 cf.

H

WV SI

4, 4 ὁν cod. || 7 ὁ: τὸ cod. || ἀλλότριος cod. || 8

τυγκάνης cod. || 16 ἐγεννήσας cod. || παρειατῆκεν

cod. || 18 παιδεύῃς ἢν παιδεία cod. || 20 δύνατε

cod..

deest in V || ἔγωγ μεν V || εἰμι: add. here SI || 7

deest in V || ἔγωγ μεν V || εἰμι: add. here SI || 7

deest in V || 3 καθηγῆτῇ: add. Ζακχαῖαν V || 4

deest in V || 5 ἀληθῶς V || 6 καὶ τούτω:

2b, 1 ταῦτα: post ἰωάννη (2) pos. V || 2 μεγα:

αὐτῇ: εἰμοὶ ἐδόθη ἡ ἐξουσία V || 8 ἔγωγ: καὶ V || 9

παρηγοί: W || ὑμῖν: ἢμῖν V || 10 ἢν ἔγωγ: εἰμι V ||

11/12 τὸ πῶθεν: ἦμας τίτες V || 12 ἔσται W || ἦτε:

deest in V || 13 ἔστιν: εἰσιν τὰ V || ἦμῶν V || 16

deest in V || 13 ἔστιν: εἰσιν τὰ V || ἦμῶν V || 16

deest in V || 13 ἔστιν: εἰσιν τὰ V || ἦμῶν V || 16

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deest in V || 13 ἔστιν: εἰσιν τὰ V || ἦμῶν V || 16

Gc

Gb

2b Ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς
τοῦ Ἰωσήφ τοῦτο λέγοντος ἐγέλασε
καὶ εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Ζακχαῖον·
ἀληθῶς, καθηγητά, <πάντα> ὅσα
εἶρηκέ σοι ὁ πατήρ μου, ἀληθῆς
εἶσι. καὶ τούτων μὲν ἐγὼ εἰμι κύριος

2a Καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ Ἰησοῦς
ἐγέλασε
καὶ φησι πρὸς αὐτούς·
ὕμεις ἃ οἴδατε λέγετε, ἐγὼ δὲ πλείω
ὕμῶν ἐπίσταμαι.

5

καὶ πρὸς σε πάρειμι καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν
ἐγεννήθην καὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι.
ἐγὼ οἶδα ὑμᾶς
πόθεν ἐστὲ καὶ πόσα
ἔτη ἔσται τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν.

πρὸ γὰρ τῶν αἰώνων εἰμί.

10

ἀληθῶς λέγω σοι, διδάσκαλε,
ὅτε ἐγεννήθης ἐγὼ εἰμι.
καὶ εἰ θέλεις τέλειος εἶναι διδάσκαλος,
ἄκουσόν μου καὶ γὰρ διδάξω σε σοφίαν
ἣν οὐδεὶς [f. 63^v] ἄλλος εἶδε πλὴν ἐμοῦ

15

20

2b, 11–13 cf. John 8:14; Gos. Thom. 18 || 18–21
John 7:14–16; 12:49–50; 14:24.

A Lt

SC

2b = Lt VI, 2 || 2 λέγοντος Del: -οντα *cod.* || 2/3
ἐγέλασε καὶ: *deest in Lt* || 3 τὸν: αὐτὸν *cod.* || 4/5
πάντα—μου: *quia quanta de ore meo procedunt Lt*
|| 4 πάντα: *scripsi* || 5 ἀληθῆς *cod.* Del || 6 εἶσι:
ἐστι Del || τούτων: *ante omnes Lt* || κύριος: *add.*
vos autem alienigenae estis Lt || 9–24 *pr.* καὶ—
μαθητῆς: *quoniam mihi data est gloria saeculorum,*
vobis datum est nihil; quia ante saecula ego sum Lt ||
19 οἶδε Del || πλὴν Del: *πρὶν cod.*

Gs
καὶ τὸ σωτηρίον ὄνομα βαστάσεις.

25

30

5 Ἀνεβόησαν δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι

5 μέγα [f. 68^r] καὶ εἶπαν αὐτῷ· ὦ καινοῦ
καὶ παράδοξου θαύματος. τάχα
πενταετὶς ἦν τὸ παιδίον, καὶ ὦ ποῖα
φθέγγεται ῥήματα· τοιούτους λόγους
οὐδέποτε οἶδαμεν, οὐδέενος εἰρηκότος,

Ga
καὶ τοῦ πέμψαντός με πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

ἐγὼ σου διδάσκαλός εἰμι. οὐδέ ἐμοῦ
μαθητῆς τυγχάνεις. ἐγὼ οἶδα πόσων
χρόνων εἶ καὶ πόσον μέλλεις ζῆσαι
ἀληθῶς· ὁ μόνος ἐγὼ οἶδα. καὶ ὅταν ἴδῃς
τὸν σταυρόν μου ὃν εἶπεν σοι ὁ πατήρ
μου, τότε πιστεύσεις ὅτι πάντα ὅσα
εἶπόν σοι ἀληθινὰ εἰσι. καὶ τούτων μὲν
ἐγὼ κύριός εἰμι. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀλλότριοί
ἐστε, ὅτι τότε καὶ νῦν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ εἰμι.

2c Οἱ δὲ παρόντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι
ἐξεπλάγησαν ἀκούοντες τοῦ παιδαρίου
τοιαῦτα λέγοντες, καὶ ἐξεβόησαν
μεγάλην φωνὴν λέγοντες· ὦ καινοῦ
καὶ παράδοξου θαύματος. τάχα ὅλων
πέντε ἐτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο.
καὶ οἶδε ποῖα φθέγγεται ἢ οὐκ
ἠκούσαμεν εἰρηκότα τινὰ οὕτε

21 John 7:16; 8:29; 12:49; 14:24; Mark 9:37; Luke
9:48; 10:16; Matt 10:40.

*H*22 βαστάσις *cod.**WV SI*

21 ὑμᾶς· ἡμᾶς *V*, *add.* ἵνα διδάξω *V SI* || 23 σοι *V* ||
εἰμι· ἔσομαι *V* || 23/24 οὐδέ—τυγχάνεις: while you
are called my disciple *SI* || 23 ἐμοῦ· ἐμοὶ *V* || 24
τυγχάνεις *V*: *deest in W* || ἐγὼ· *add.* δὲ *V* || 25
χρόνων· ἐτῶν *V* || μέλλεις· χρόν[ων] ἔχεις *V* || 26
ἀληθῶς—οἶδα: *deest in V* || μόνος: *deest in SI* ||
26/27 ὅταν—ὄν: ὅτ[-15-] *V* || 28 τότε—πάντα: [-
15-]τα *V* || 29 ἀληθινὰ εἰσι: ἀλη[θῶς ἐστε] *V* || 29—
31 καὶ—εἰμι: *deest in V* || 29 τούτων: behold *SI* ||
30 ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀλλότριοί: but you are a stranger *SI* ||
31 ὁ αὐτὸς: *deest in SI*.

2c, 1 [οἱ δὲ παρόντ]ες *V* || 2 ἐξεπλάγησαν
ἀκούοντες: ἀκούσαν[τες τοῦ]τιῦ ἐξ. *V*, listening *SI*
|| 2/3 τοῦ—τοιαῦτα: *deest in V SI* || 3/4 καὶ—
φωνὴν: *deest in V* || 6 τοῦτο: *deest in V* || 7 οἶδε: ὁ *V*
|| φθέγγεται: *add.* τοιούτοις λόγοις *V* || ἢ οὐκ:
οὐδὲν ὅς *V* || 8 τινὰ οὕτε: οὐκ *V*.

Gc

Gc

καὶ τοῦ μέψαντός με πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

οὐ γὰρ τυγχάνεις ἐμὸς
ἡδῆτης καὶ ὁ ὀδὸς σε πόδας
ἐτῶν εἰ καὶ πόδον ἔχεις ῥῆσιν.
καὶ ὅταν ἰδῇς
τὸν σταυρὸν μου ὃν εἶπεν ὁ πατήρ
μου, τότε πιστεύσεις ὅτι πάντα ὅσα
εἶπον σοὶ ἀληθῆ εἰσιν.

25

2c οἱ δὲ παρόντες ἰουδαῖοι καὶ
ἀκούοντες τὸν ἱησοῦν ἐθαύμαζον καὶ
2b καὶ ἀκούσας τῆς ἐξηλλαγμένης.

5

εἶπον· ὡς ἔβουν καὶ
παράδοξον πρᾶγμα. οὐπω
ἐστὶν ἐτῶν πέντε τὸ παίδιον τοῦτο
καὶ τοιαῦτα φεβέγγεται. τοιοῦτους γὰρ
λόγους οὐδέποτε ἠκούσαμεν εἰρηκότες

21 John 7:16; 8:29; 12:49; 14:24; Mark 9:37; Luke
9:48; 10:16; Matt 10:40.

SC

25 ῥῆσιν· add. et quoniam tollens in exilium Lr ||
26-29 cf. Gb VI, 3a, 9-10.

2b, 2 ἐξηλλαγμένη Tisch.

intelligas quia omnia quae procederunt de ore meo
vera sunt Lr.

2c = Lr VI, 3 || 1 παρόντες conl. Voicu, "Verso":
παρόντες cod. Del || 5-7 οὐπω—φεβέγγεται:

deest in Lr.

- Gs*
 οὐδὲ νομοδιδασκάλου,
 10 οὐδὲ φαρισαίου
 τινὸς ὡς τοῦ παιδίου τούτου.
 6 Ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς τὸ παιδίον καὶ
 εἶπεν· τί θαυμάζετε;
 μᾶλλον δὲ τί ἀπιστεῖτε ἐφ' οἷς εἶπον
 ὑμῖν ἀληθῶς ἐστίν· ὅτε ἐγεννήθητε
 5 ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν καὶ οἱ
 πατέρες τῶν πατέρων ὑμῶν,
 οἶδα ἀκριβῶς καὶ ὁ πρῶτον
 κόσμον κτισθεῖς.
- 10 7 Ἀκούσαντες δὲ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς
 ἐφिमώθησαν, λαλήσαι
 μηκέτι δυνηθέντες πρὸς αὐτόν.
 προσελθὼν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐσκιρτᾷ καὶ

6, 7/8 cf. John 17:5; 1:1–2.

H
 6, 2 θαυμάζεται *cod.* || 3 ἀπιστεῖται *cod.* || 7
 πρῶτον: πρὸ τούτου *cod.* || 8 κτησθῆναι *cod.*

- Ga*
 ἀρχιερέως οὔτε νομοδιδασκάλου οὔτε
 γραμματέως ἀλλ' οὐδὲ φαρισαίου
 τινὸς ὡς τοῦ παιδίου τούτου.
 2d [f. 201^r] Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπε τὸ
 παιδίον αὐτοῖς· τί πάνυ θαυμάζετε;
 μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπιστεῖτε ἐφ' οἷς εἶπον
 ὑμῖν ὅτι εἶπον πῶς οἶδα ὅτε ἐγεννήθητε
 ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν καὶ οἱ
 πατέρες τῶν πατέρων· ἔτι καὶ τὸ
 παράδοξον <λέγω ὑμῖν> ὅτι οἶδα ὅτε ὁ
 κόσμος ἐκτίσθη καὶ ὁ
 πέμψας πρὸς ὑμᾶς οἶδε.
- 2e Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ὅτι καὶ
 ὤμνουν ἐφοβήθησαν,
 μηκέτι δυνάμενοι αὐτῷ λαλεῖν.
 προσελθὼν δὲ τὸ παιδίον

2d, 7/8 cf. John 17:5; 1:1–2 || 9 cf. John 7:16; 8:29;
 12:49; 14:24; Mark 9:37; Luke 9:48; 10:16; Matt
 10:40.

WVSI
 9 οὔτε...οὔτε: οὐ...οὐ *V* || οὔτε νομοδιδασκάλου:
deest in SI || 10 γραμματαῖς *V* || ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
 φαρισαίου: *deest in SI* || οὐδὲ: οὐ *V* || 11 ὡς—
 τούτου: *deest in V*.
 2d, 1 καὶ: τότε *V* || 1/2 εἶπε—αὐτοῖς: τὸ παιδίον
 εἶπεν *V* || 2 πάνυ: πάλιν *V* || θαυμάζετε: -ηται *W*,
 -εται *V* || 3–6 ἐφ'—πατέρων: because I told you
 the truth and he who sent me is trustworthy *SI* || 3/4
 εἶπον—ὅτε: οἶδα πότε *V* || 4 εἶδα *W* || 5 ὑμῶν:
 ἡμῶν *V* || 5/6 *alt.* καὶ—ἔτι: *deest in V* || 6–8 ἔτι—
 ἐκτίσθη: when all the world was not here, I was
 before the world *SI* || 6 τὸ: τοῦτο *V* || 7 λέγω ὑμῖν
V SI: *deest in W* || ὅτε: πότε *V* || 8/9 καὶ—οἶδε:
deest in V SI.
 2e, 2 καὶ ὤμνουν: τοιαῦτα φθέγγεται *V* || 3
 αὐτοῦ *W* || λαλήσαι *V* || 4/5 προσελθὼν—ἐλέγε:
 εἶπε δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς *V*, when the
 children came out, they played and had fun. And he
 offended them saying *SI*.

Gc

Gc

10

3a Kai παλιν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς·
<θαυμάζετε> ὅτι εἶπον ὑμῖν ὅτι οἶδα
πόσα ἐστὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ὑμῶν.

5

2d Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς
λέγει αὐτοῖς· πᾶν θαυμάζετε;
μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπιστεῖτε ἐφ' οἷς εἶπον
ὑμῖν. ἀληθὺς οἶδα καὶ ποτε ἐγεννηθήτε
ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ πατέρες
καὶ τὸ
παράδοξον λέγω ὑμῖν· ὅτε δὴ ὁ
κόσμος ἐκτίθη, ἐγὼ εἶμι καὶ ὁ πῆψας
με πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

10

ἀληθὺς οἶδα ὅτε
ἐκτίθη ὁ κόσμος. ἰδοὺ οὐ πιστεύετε μοι
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅταν ἰδῇτε τὸν σταυρὸν μου,
τότε πιστεύετε ὅτι ἀληθὴ λέγω.
3b οἱ δὲ ἐξεπαγγέσαν ἀκούοντες
ταῦτα.

2e Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ ἰουδαῖοι ὅτι
οὗτως λέγει τὸ παιδίον ἐβυλιώθησαν,
μη δύναμενοι ἀποκριθῆναι αὐτῷ λόγον.
προεβλήθον δὲ τὸ παιδίον καὶ σκιπτῆσας

A Lr

11 τοῦτο· add. ab alio aliquo homine neque a
pontificibus neque a magistris neque a Pharisaeis
Lr.
3a, 2 θαυμάζετε· cont. Tisch || 7 οἶδατε C^m || ὅτε:
3b, 1 ἐξεπαγγέσαν C^m· ἐξεπαγγέσαντο codd. ||
2d = Lr VI, 4 || 2 πᾶν· ut quid Lr || θαυμάζετε· add.
ἀκούοντες· -οντες S, -οντας C.

SC

incredibilia habetis quia locutus sum veritatem Lr ||
3 ἀπιστεῖτε cont. Voicu, "Verso": ἐπιστεῖτε cod.
Del || 6/7 τὸ—ὑμῖν· et si plus dixerō vobis Lr || 8
ἐγὼ εἶμι· ego scio Lr || 9 ἦμας cod.
2e, 2 ἐβυλιώθησαν· mirati sunt Lr, ἐβυλιώθησαν
cont. Voicu, "Verso" || 4 προεβλήθον· conversus in
semetipsum Lr || σκιπτῆσας· σκιπτῆσαν Del.
exultavit Lr.

2d, 7/8 cf. John 17:5; 1:1–2 || 9 cf. John 7:16; 8:29;
12:49; 14:24; Mark 9:37; Luke 9:48; 10:16; Matt
10:40.

Gs

- 5 ἔλεγεν·
ἐπαιζον πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπειδὴ οἶδα
μικροθαύμαστοί ἐστε καὶ τοῖς
φρονίμοις ὀλίγοι.
8 Ὡς οὖν ἔδοξαν παρηγορεῖσθαι
ἐπὶ τῇ παρακλήσει τοῦ παιδίου,
ὁ καθηγητὴς εἶπεν τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ·
δεῦρο, ἄγαγε αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ
5 παιδευτήριον καὶ διδάξω αὐτὸ
γράμματα. ὁ δὲ Ἰωσήφ ἐπιλαβόμενος
τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπήγαγεν αὐτὸν
εἰς τὸ παιδευτήριον. καὶ ὁ διδάσκαλος
κολακεύσας αὐτὸν ἤγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ
10 διδασκαλεῖον. καὶ ἔγραψεν αὐτῷ ὁ

Ga

- αὐτοῖς ἔλεγε·
ἐπαιξα πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπειδὴ οἶδα
ὅτι μικροὶ θαύμαστοί ἐστε καὶ
μικροὶ τοῖς φρονήμασιν.
2f Ὡς οὖν ἔδοξαν παραχωρεῖσθαι
ἐπὶ τῇ παρακλήσει τοῦ παιδὸς ἤρξατο
ὁ καθηγητὴς λέγειν τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ·
δεῦρο, εἰσάγαγε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ
παιδευτήριον καὶ διδάξω αὐτὸν
γράμματα. ὁ δὲ Ἰωσήφ κρατήσας
αὐτοῦ τῆς χειρὸς, ἤγαγεν αὐτὸν
εἰς τὸ διδασκαλεῖον. ὁ δὲ διδάσκαλος
Ζακχαῖος κολακεύσας αὐτὸν
ἔδειξεν αὐτοῦ

VI, 8/9 Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.20.1, *Ep. Apos.* 4; cf. *Acts Thom.* 79.

VI, 2f/3 Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.20.1, *Ep. Apos.* 4; cf. *Acts Thom.* 79.

*H*7 ἔσται *cod.*.

8, 1 ὥς οὖν: ὡ σου *cod.* || 4 αὐτῷ *cod.* || 5 αὐτῷ *cod.*.

WV SI

6 ἐπαιξα—ἐπειδὴ: *deest in SI* || 7 μικροὶ—καί: you are amazed and weak *SI*, ἔστε *V* || 8 μικροὶ—φρονήμασιν: for glory is due for assisting the children *SI* || τῆς *V*.

WVP SI

2f, 1–8 ὥς—διδασκαλεῖον: *deest in P* || 1/2 ὥς—ἤρξατο: *deest in V SI* || 3 ὁ—λέγειν: εἶπεν οὖν καθηγητῆς *V SI* || 4 δεῦρο: *deest in SI* || εἰσάγαγε *W*: ἄγαγε *V* || 4/5 εἰς τὸ παιδευτήριον: to me for instruction *SI* || 6/7 ὁ—αὐτοῦ: [-14-] τὸν *V* || 7 τῆς χειρὸς: *deest in SI* || 7/8 αὐτὸν—ὁ: [-14-] *V* || 8 εἰς τὸ διδασκαλεῖον: to the teacher *SI* || 8–26 ὁ—συνεσέως: καθίσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ διδάξαι γράμματα τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἤρξατο· τὸ πρῶτον στοιχεῖον τὸ ἁλφ. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς λέγει τὸ δεύτερον στοιχεῖον, μπὲθ, γκίμελ· καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ στοιχεῖα ἕως τέλους. καὶ ἀναπτύξας βιβλίον, τοὺς προφήτας ἐδίδασκε τὸν καθηγητήν. αὐτὸς δὲ αἰσχυρθεὶς ἠπόρησεν ὅτι οὐκ οἶδε πόθεν αὐτὸς οἶδε τὰ γράμματα· καὶ ἐγερθεὶς ἀνεχώρησεν οἰκαδὲ θαυμάζων, ἐξιστάμενος τὸ παράδοξον *des. P* || 9 Ζακχαῖος—αὐτὸν: Ζακ[-14-] τὸν *V* || 10 ἔδειξεν *W*: ἔγραψεν *V SI* || αὐτὸν *V*.

Gc

Gb

αὐτοῖς λέγει·

5

ἔπαιξα ὑμᾶς· οἶδα γὰρ

ὅτι μικροθαύμαστοί ἐστε καὶ

μικροὶ τοῖς φρονήμασιν.

2f Ὡς οὖν ἔδοξαν παρηγορεῖσθαι

ἐν τῇ παρακλήσει τοῦ παιδίου, εἶπεν

ὁ καθηγητὴς πρὸς τὸν Ἰωσήφ·

ἄγαγε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ

παιδευτήριον καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν [f. 64^r]

5

διδάξω γράμματα. ὁ δὲ Ἰωσήφ λαβὼν

αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς χειρὸς ἤγαγεν αὐτὸν

εἰς τὸ διδασκαλεῖον.

καὶ ἔγραψεν αὐτῷ

(VII 1a) Γράψας δὲ ὁ Ζακχαῖος τὸν

10

VI, 2f/3 Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.20.1, *Ep. Apos.* 4; cf. *Acts Thom.* 79.

VII, 1 Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.20.1, *Ep. Apos.* 4; cf. *Acts Thom.* 79.

A Lt

SC

6 ἔπαιξα: proverbium dixi Lt || 7/8

μικροθαύμαστοι—φρονήμασιν: debiles estis et

nescientes Lt || 8 φρονήμασιν Del: φυράμασιν

cod..

2f =Lt VI, 5–6a || 1/2 ἔδοξαν—παιδίου: deest in

Lt || 4/5 εἰς τὸ παιδευτήριον: mihi Lt || 6/7

λαβὼν—χειρὸς: apprehendit puerum Iesum Lt || 8

διδασκαλεῖον: add. ubi alii pueri docebantur Lt ||

10–12 καὶ—ἐπιτηδεύειν: magister vero dulci

sermone coepit eum docere litteras, et scripsit illi

primum versiculum qui est ab a usque t, et coepit

eum palpare et docere Lt || 10 αὐτῷ Del: αὐτὸν

cod..

Gs

Ζακχαῖος τὸν ἀλφάβητον καὶ ἤρξατο
ἐπιστοιχίζειν αὐτῷ. καὶ λέγει τῷ αὐτῷ
γράμμα πλεονάκῃς. τὸ δὲ παιδίον οὐκ
ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ.

- 15 πικρανθεὶς δὲ ὁ
καθηγητὴς ἔκρουσεν αὐτὸ εἰς τὴν
κεφαλὴν. τὸ δὲ παι[*f. 68*']δίον
ἠγανάκτησεν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἐγὼ σε
θέλω παιδεῦσαι μᾶλλον ἢ παιδευθῆναι
20 παρὰ σου. ἐπειδὴ οἶδα τὰ γράμματα ἃ
σου διδάσκεις ἀκριβῶς πολλοὺς
κρεῖττωτέρους σου. καὶ ταῦτα ἐμοὶ
εἰσιν ὥσπερ χαλκὸς ἡχῶν ἢ κύμβαλος
ἀλαλάζον· ἅτινα οὐ παρίστησι τὴν
25 φωνὴν ἢ τὴν δόξαν
οὔτε τὴν δύναμιν
τῆς συνέσεως.
9 Πausάμενον δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς τὸ

Ga

τὸν ἀλφάβητον. καὶ ἤρξατο
ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν τὸ ἄλφα
πλεονάκῃς. τὸ δὲ παιδίον
ἐσιώπα καὶ οὐχ ὑπηκούειν αὐτῷ ἕως
ᾠρας πολλᾶς. <ὀργισθεὶς δὲ ὁ
καθηγητὴς ἔκρουσεν αὐτόν.
τὸ δὲ παιδίον
ἀτενίσας αὐτόν.> ὕστερον δὲ εἶπε· ἐγὼ
θέλω διδάσκεσθαι.
ἐγὼ οἶδα τὰ γράμματα σου ἃ
διδάσκεις πολλὰ σου
κρεῖττον. καὶ ταῦτα μοί
ἐστὶ ὡς χαλκὸς ἡχῶν ἢ κύμβαλον
ἀλαλάζον τινὰ παρ' αὐτῷ ὡς
φωνῆς ἀμοιβὴν οὔτε δόξαν σοφίας
οὔτε δύναμιν
ψυχῆς οὔτε συνέσεως.
3 Τὸ δὲ παιδίον παυσάμενον τῆς

22–24 1 Cor 13:1.

22–24 1 Cor 13:1.

H

16 αὐτῷ *cod.* || 19 εἰ *cod.* || 21 σου σου *cod.* || 24
ἄντινα οὐ· ἀντιναοῦν *cod.* || παρέστισι *cod.* || 27
τῆς: τ[*] *cod.*..

WVSI

11 τὸν ἀλφάβητον: τὴν ἁ. *W*, τὸ ἀλφά[βητον]
V, “I know” *SI* || 11–13 ἤρξατο—πλεονάκῃς: the
teacher first began to speak: “Say I.” He told him
often: “Say it.” *SI* || 12 εἰπεῖν: καὶ λέγειν *V* || 14
ἐσιώπα—ὑπηκούειν: did not proclaim *SI* || καὶ—
αὐτῷ: *deest in V* || 15 ᾠρας πολλῆς *V*, one hour
SI || 15–18 ὀργισθεὶς—αὐτόν *V SI*: *deest in W* || 16
ἔκρουσεν: *add. on the head SI* || 18 ἀτενίσας—δὲ:
deest in SI || ἀτενίσας: *add. εἰς V* || ὕστερον δὲ:
deest in V || εἶπε: *add. to him*: “you have done
unworthy things” *SI* || 18–20 ἐγὼ—οἶδα: *deest in V*
|| 19 διδάσκεσθαι: *add. but am I supposed to be*
instructed by you? SI || 21/22 πολλὰ—κρεῖττον:
and now can they condemn me? *SI* || 21–23
πολλὰ—ἐστὶ: *deest in V* || 23 χαλκός: *add. ὁ V* ||
24–27 τινὰ—συνέσεως: *deest in V*.

WV α SI

3, 1/2 τὸ—ὀργῆς: παυσάμενον δὲ τὸ παιδίον
τῆς ὀργῆς *V*, and the boy remained quiet a while
SI, καὶ *α*

Gc

ἀλφάβητον καθηγητῆς καὶ ἤρξατο
ἐπιτηδεύειν καὶ εἶπε τὸ ἄλφα
πλειστάκις. τὸ δὲ παιδίον
ἐσιώπα καὶ οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτὸν ἕως
ᾧρας πολλάς. ὀργισθεὶς οὖν ὁ
καθηγητῆς ἔκρουσεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν
κεφαλὴν. τὸ δὲ παιδίον
ἀξίως παθὼν εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἐγὼ σε
παιδεύω μᾶλλον ἢ παιδεύομαι
ἀπὸ σου, ὅτι οἶδα γράμματα ἅ
σύ με διδάσκεις καὶ πολλή σου
κρίσις ἐστί. καὶ ταῦτά σοι
ἐστὶν ὡς χοῦς χαλκοῦς, ὡς κύμβαλον
ἀλαλάζον, ἅτινα οὐ παρέχουσι διὰ τὴν
φωνὴν τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν.
οὐδὲ τινος ψυχὴ <συνήσι> τὴν δύναμιν
τῆς σοφίας μου.

3 Παισάμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς

Gb

ἀλφάβητον ἐβραϊστί, καὶ λέγει πρὸς
αὐτόν· ἄλφα. καὶ φησιν τὸ παιδίον·
ἄλφα. καὶ αὖθις ὁ διδάσκαλος· ἄλφα.
καὶ τὸ παιδίον ὁμοίως. εἶτα πάλιν ὁ
διδάσκαλος ἐκ τρίτου τὸ ἄλφα.

15

20

25

1b τότε ἐμβλέψας ὁ Ἰησοῦς

22–24 1 Cor 13:1.

A Lt

12 ἐπιτηδεύειν Del: ἐπιστηλεύειν *cod.* || 12–15
καὶ—πολλάς: *deest in Lt* || 15 πολλάς Del:
πολλῆς *cod.* || ὀργισθεὶς: *deest in Lt* || 18 ἀξίως
παθὼν: *puer vero cum accepisset Lt* || 20–22 καὶ—
ἐστί: *deest in Lt* || 22–27 καὶ—μου: *et scio quia vos*
estis mihi tanquam vasa de quibus non exeunt nisi
voces et non sapientia neque animae salvatio Lt || 23
χοῦς χαλκοῦς Del: χοῦν χαλκοῦν *cod.* || 24
παρέχουσι διὰ Del: παρέσο οὐδὲ *cod.* || 26
συνήσι: *coni.* Del.
3 = *Lt* VI, 6b || 1 παισάμενος—ὀργῆς: *et incipens*
versiculum Lt.

*SC*12 φησι *SC* || 14 παιδὶν *S.*

Gs

- παιδίον εἶπεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ
 γράμματα πάντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλφα ἕως
 τοῦ Ω μετὰ πολλῆς ἐξετάσεως καὶ
 5 τρανώς. ἐμβλέψας τῷ
 καθηγητῇ εἶπεν αὐτό·
 ἄλφα μὴ εἰδὼς τὸ κατὰ φύσιν, τὸ
 βῆτα πῶς διδάσκεις ἄλλον;
 ὑποκριτά, εἰ οἶδας πρῶτον δίδαξόν με
 10 τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τότε σοι πιστεύσω λέγειν
 τὸ βῆτα. εἶτα ἤρξατο ἀποστοματίζειν
 τὸν διδάσκαλον περὶ τοῦ α
 στοιχείου. καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν
 αὐτῷ εἰπεῖν.

10 Ἀκούοντων δὲ πολλῶν λέγει τῷ
 καθηγητῇ· ἄκουε,
 διδάσκαλε, καὶ νόει τὴν τοῦ πρώτου

Ga

ὀργῆς εἶπεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ πάντα τὰ
 γράμματα ἀπὸ τοῦ Α ἕως
 τοῦ ὦ μέγα μετὰ πολλῆς ἐξετάσεως
 τρανώς. ἐμβλέψας δὲ πάλιν τῷ
 καθηγητῇ Ζακχαίῳ λέγει αὐτός· σὺ τὸ
 ἄλφα μὴ εἰδὼς κατὰ φύσιν, τὸ
 βῆτα πῶς ἄλλους διδάσκεις;
 ὑποκριτά, πρῶτον εἰ οἶδας δίδαξον
 τὸ ἄλφα, καὶ τότε σοι πιστεύσω περὶ
 τοῦ βῆτα. εἶτα ἤρξατο ἀποστοματίζειν
 τὸν διδάσκαλον περὶ τοῦ ἄλφου
 γράμματος, καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν
 ἀποκριθῆναι αὐτός.

4 Ἀκούοντων δὲ πολλῶν λέγει
 τὸ παιδίον τῷ Ζακχαίῳ· ἄκουε,
 διδάσκαλε, τὴν τοῦ ἄλφου

H

4 ἐξέστως *cod.* || 6 αὐτῷ *cod.* || 7 ἴδος *cod.* || 10
 πιστεύειν *cod.* || 13 ἴσχυεν *cod.*

WVαSI

2 ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ: αὐτῷ α || 2-4 πάντα—ὦ μέγα: τὰ
 γράμματα V || 3/4 Α—ὦ μέγα: Az to Yats SI || 4
 ὦ μέγα: Ω α || ἐξετάσεως: τῆς λέξεως V || 5
 τρανώς: *deest in V* || δὲ πάλιν: δὲ α, οὖν V || 6
 Ζακχαίῳ: *deest in V* || αὐτῷ Vα || σὺ: *deest in V* ||
 7/8 κατὰ—βῆτα: or what letters are SI || 8 ἄλλους
 διδάσκεις: *deest in V* || 9 πρῶτον εἰ οἶδας: *deest*
in V || 9-11 πρῶτον—βῆτα: since you do not
 know, how do you teach me books? If you know,
 then tell me what Yats is SI || 10 ἄλφα: Α α ||
 πιστεύσω V: -σομεν Wα || 11 ἤρξαντο BM ||
 ἀποστοματίζειν V Santos: ἀποστομάτιζον W,
 ἀποστομίζειν α Thilo Tisch Bon, ἀποστοτίζειν
 [sic?] Sch, prophesy SI || 12/13 περὶ—γράμματος:
 those things SI || 12 ἄλφου: πρώτου Vα || 13/14
 καὶ—αὐτός: the teacher listened and understood
 Az, but in its nature SI || 14 ἀποκριθῆναι αὐτός:
 ἀντικριθῆναι [ἀν**κριθῆναι V^{sc}] αὐτό V, αὐτῷ
 ἀνταποκριθῆναι α.

4, 1-13 v. *notam SI* || 1 ἀκούοντων δὲ πολλῶν:
deest in V || δὲ: *add. ἀντ W^{sc}* || 2 τὸ παιδίον: *om.*
 Santos Bon || τῷ Ζακχαίῳ α SI: τὸν Ζακχαῖον W,
 τῷ καθηγητῇ V || 3 ἄλφου: πρώτου Vα.

Gc

εἶπε

τὰ γράμματα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλφα ἕως
τὸ Ω μετὰ πολλῆς ὀξύτητος.

ἐμβλέψας δὲ εἰς τὸν

καθηγητὴν λέγει αὐτόν· σὺ τὸ
ἄλφα μὴ εἰδὼς κατὰ φύσιν, τὸ
βῆτα πῶς μᾶλλον διδάσκεις;

ὑποκριτά, εἰ οἶδας, διδάξόν με πρῶτον

σὺ τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τότε σοι πιστεύω

τὸ βῆτα. ὁ δὲ ἤρξατο ἐπερωτᾶν
τὸν διδάσκαλον περὶ τοῦ πρώτου
στοιχείου. καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν
εἰπεῖν οὐδέν.

4 Ἀκούοντων δὲ πολλῶν, λέγει πρὸς
Ζακχαῖον· ἄκουε,
διδάσκαλε, καὶ νόει τὴν τοῦ πρώτου

Gb

τῷ

καθηγητῇ λέγει· σὺ τὸ
ἄλφα μὴ εἰδὼς πῶς ἄλλον τὸ
βῆτα διδάξεις;

καὶ ἀρξάμενος τὸ παιδίον ἀπὸ τοῦ
ἄλφα εἶπεν ἅφ' ἑαυτοῦ [f. 111^v] τὰ κβ
γράμματα.

2^a Εἶτα καὶ αὐθις λέγει·
ἄκουσον,

διδάσκαλε, τὴν τάξιν τοῦ πρώτου

5

10

A Lt

3/4 ἄλφα—ὀξύτητος: a usque ad t pleniter *Lt* || 6—
8 σὺ—διδάσκεις: tu autem nescis interpretare quod
est a et b; quomodo vis docere alios? *Lt* || 9

ὑποκριτά: o progitas *Lt* || 10 πιστεύω: dicam *Lt* ||11 ἐπερωτᾶν: enarrare *Lt*.

4 = *Lt* VI, 7 || 1 ἀκούοντων δὲ πολλῶν: Iesus
autem *Lt* || 3/4 τὴν—τάξιν: primam litteram *Lt*.

*SC*11 παιδὶν *S*.

Gs

- στοιχείου τάξιν. καὶ πρόσχες ὧδε πῶς
 5 ἔχει κανόνας ὀξοὺς καὶ χαρακτῆρας
 μέσων οὓς ὀράς ὀξυνομένους,
 διαβαίνοντας, συναγομένους,
 ἐξέρποντας, ἀφελκομένους,
 ὑψουμένους, χορεύοντας,
 10 βεληφορούτας, τρισήμους, διστόμους,
 ὁμοσχήμες, ὁμοπολεῖς, ὁμογενεῖς·
 ἐπαρτικούς, ζυγοστάτας, ἰσομέτρους,
 ἰσομόρους κανόνας ἔχων τὸ ἄλφα.

VII 1 Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ καθηγητὴς
 τὴν τοιαύτην

Ga

- στοιχείου τάξιν, καὶ πρόσχες ὧδε πῶς
 ἔχει κανόνας καὶ μεσαχαρακτῆρας,
 [f. 201^v] οὓς ὀράς ξυνοὺς
 διαβαίνοντας, συναγομένους,
 ὑψουμένους, χορεύοντας,
 βαλεφεγγούντας, τρισήμους,
 ὁμογενεῖς, ὑπάρπουχους
 ζυγοστάτας, ἰσομέτρους
 κανόνας ἔχει τὸ Α.

VII 1 Ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν ὁ διδάσκαλος
 Ζακχαῖος τὰς τοσαύτας

H

4 ὧδε πῶς: πῶς δὲ *cod.* || 5 ὀξοὺς: ὠδους *cod.* ||
 χαρακτῆρα *cod.* || 6 οὐράς *cod.* || 7
 συναγωμένας *cod.* || 9 ὑψούμενος *cod.* || 10
 βελεφετούτας *cod.* || 11/12 ὁμοσχήμες
 ὁμοπαλῆς ὁμοπαγενῆς ἐπαρτουχους *cod.* || 13
 τῶ *cod.*

WVaSl

4 πρόσχες ὧδε πῶς *α:* πρὸς ὧδε πῶς *W*,
 πόσους *V* || 5 μεσαχαρακτῆρας *α:* -ρα *Tisch &*
c., μεσο- *W*, μέσον χαρακτῆρας *V*, μέσα
 χαρακτῆρας *Thilo* || 6 ὀράς ξυνοὺς *Tisch & c.*:
 ὀράς ὀξύνους *V*, ὀραξίνους *W*, ὄρα ξ. *α.*
 ὀφαιξίνους *M*, ὀράς ξυντοὺς *Thilo* || 7
 διαβαίνοντας *codd.* *Thilo Santos Bon:* -οντα
Tisch Sch || συναγομένους *V α:* -ος *W*, *add.*
 ἐξέρποντας παρελίομενους (*exp.*) *V* || 9-12
 ὑψουμένους—ζυγοστάτας *exp.* *V* || 9
 ὑψουμένους *codd.* *Thilo Bon:* ὑψους μὲν *Tisch*
Sch, ὑψομένους *Santos* || χορεύοντας *codd.* *Thilo*
Santos Bon: πορεύοντας *Tisch Sch* || 10
 βαλεφεγγούντας *W:* βαλεφεγιούντας *DM Thilo*
Santos Bon, βάλε φεγιούντας *B*, παλεφεγιούντας
V, πάλιν δὲ κεφαλαιοῦντας *Tisch Sch* ||
 τρισήμους: σησημοὺς *V*, *add.* ὁμοπαγεῖς *V* || 11
 ὑπαρπουχους *W:* σπορπουχους *V*, ὑπαρπουχθέ
BM Thilo, ὑπαρπουλθέν *D*, ὑπάρχους *Tisch Sch*,
 ὑπάρχοντας *Santos Bon* || 12 ζυγοστάτας *WV:* -
 ους *α Thilo Bon*, δὲ καὶ ὑποστάτους *Tisch Sch*,
om. Santos || ἰσομέτρους *V α:* -ον *W*, *add.* τούτους
Thilo || 13 ἔχεις *Tisch* || τοῦ *Tisch* || ἄλφα *V*.
 VII, 1, 1-7 ὥς—παροῦσιν: and Zachaeus said to
 the child *Sl* || 2 Ζακχαῖος: *deest in V* || τοσαύτας:
 τοιαύτας *V*.

Gc

[f. 64^v] στοιχείου τάξιν. <ῶ>δε πῶς
ἔχει δύο κανόνas καὶ χαρακτηῖρας
μέσον ὀξυσμένους
διαμένοντας, συναγομένους,

ὑψομένους, χορεύοντας,
τριστόμους, διστόμους,
ἀμαχίμους, ὁμογενεῖς, παρόχους,
ζυγαστόμους, ἰσομέτρους
κανόνas ἔχει τὸ ἄλφα.

VII 1 Ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν ὁ Ζακχαῖος
τὰς τοιαύτας

Gb

γράμματος, καὶ γνῶθι πόσους
προσόδους καὶ κανόνas ἔχει καὶ
χαρακτήρας ξυνούς,
διαβαίνοντας, συναγομένους,

5

ὀξύνοντας, χορεύοντας,

10

ἰσομένους.

VII 2b καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ Ζακχαῖος
τὰς τοιαύτας

A Lt

4 στοιχείου Del: -ον *cod.* || <ῶ>δε Del: [-]δέ *cod.* ||
5-9 καὶ—χορεύοντας: in medio grassando,
permanendo, domando, dispergendo, variando,
comminando *Lt* || 6 ὀξυσμένους Del: ὀξυμένους
cod. || 9 ὑψομένους Del: ὀψομένους *cod.* || 11
ἀμαχίμους Del: ἀμαχήμους *cod.*, *deest in Lt* ||
11/12 ὁμογενεῖς—ἰσομέτρους: simul ingenio
pariter omnia communia habentia *Lt* || 11
παρόχους Del: σπαρτόχους *cod.* || 13
κανόνas—ἄλφα: *deest in Lt.*

VII, 2 = *Lt* VI, 8 || 1 ἤκουσεν: vidisset *Lt* || 2/3
τὰς—κανόνas: taliter divideret *Lt.*

SC

6 ξυνούς Tisch: ὀξύνους *codd.* || 9-12 ὀξύνοντας
—ἰσομένους: *deest in S* || 9 ὀξύποντας *cod.* || 12
εἰσομένους *cod.*

- Gs*
 προσηγορίαν, [ξ. 69'] τοὺς τοιούτους
 κανόνας τοῦ πρώτου γράμματος,
 5 εἰρηκότος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἠπορήθη ἐπὶ τὴν
 τοιαύτην διδασκαλίαν καὶ ἀπολογίαν
 αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ καθηγητής· οἴμοι,
 οἴμοι, ἠπορήθην ὁ ταλαίπωρος ἐγώ,
 ἑμαυτὸν αἰσχύνην παρέσχον
 10 ἐπικατασπασάμενος.
 2 Τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο
 ἄρον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἀδελφέ.
 οὐ γὰρ φέρω <τὸ αὐστηρὸν> τοῦ
 βλέμματος αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ τὸν τρανὸν τὸν
 5 λόγον αὐτοῦ.
 ἀπλῶς τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο γηγενὴς οὐκ
 ἐστίν
 καὶ τοῦτο δύναται καὶ τὸ πῦρ
 δαμάσαι. τάχα τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον

- Ga*
 <προσηγορίας
 τοῦ πρώτου γράμματος
 ἠπόρησεν ἐπὶ τοσαύτην>
 ἀπολογίας καὶ τοσαύτην διδασκαλίαν,
 εἶπε τοῖς παροῦσιν· οἴμοι, φίλοι,
 ἠπορήθην ὁ τάλας ἐγώ,
 ἑμαυτῷ αἰσχύνην παρέχων.
 2 Ἐπισπασάμενος δὲ τὸ παιδίον ἔφη·
 ἄρον αὐτόν, ἀδελφέ Ἰωσήφ.
 οὐ φέρω τὸ αὐστηρὸν τοῦ
 βλέμματος τοῦ πρόσωπου αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ
 τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ ἀκούσαι ἅπαξ ἢ
 νοῆσαι. τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον οὐκ ἐστὶ
 γηγενὴς,
 τοῦτο δύναται καὶ πῦρ
 δαμάσαι. τάχα τοῦτο

H

6 ἀπολογία *cod.*
 2, 3 τὸ αὐστηρὸν: *scripsi*.

WVαSI

3-5 προσηγορίας—τοσαυτην *V*: *deest in W*, καὶ
 τοιαύτας ἀλληγορίας τοῦ πρώτου γράμματος
 εἰρηκότος τοῦ παιδὸς ἠπόρησεν ἐπὶ τοσαύτην
α || 6 ἀπολογίας: -α αὐτοῦ *V*, -αν *α* || τοσαύτην:
deest in Vα || διδασκαλίαν: -α *V*, *add.* καὶ *V*, *add.*
 αὐτοῦ καὶ *α* || 7-10 οἴμοι—τούτο: I do not
 understand an answer such as you have said. I have
 made for myself shame and have found it *SI* || 7
 φίλοι: *deest in Vα* || 8 ἠπορήθην *α*: ὑπορήθην *WV*
 || 9 ἑμαυτῷ: ἐν αὐτῷ *V* || αἰσχύνης *α*.
 2, 1 ἐπισπασάμενος—ἔφη: ἐπισπασάμενος τὸ
 παιδίον τοῦτο *α*, *deest in V* || 2 ἄρον: *add.* οὖν *D*
 || αὐτόν: αὐτό *α*, *add.* πασκαλῶ σε *Vα* ||
 Ἰωσήφ: *add.* and take him away to your own house
SI || 3-5 τὸ—αὐτοῦ: to look on his swiftness (of
 mind) and song-like words *SI* || 4 τοῦ πρόσωπου:
deest in Vα || 4 αὐτοῦ: *add.* καὶ + εἶπεν—αὐτοῦ
 (1,7-2,3) *M homoeoteleuton* || οὐδὲ: οὐ *α*, *add.*
 τρανῶ *α*, *add.* τὸ τρανὸν *V* || 5 τοῦ λόγου *V* ||
 αὐτοῦ: *deest in Vα* || 5/6 ἀκούσαι—νοῆσαι: ἅπαξ
α, *deest in V* || 6/7 γηγενὴς οὐκ ἐστὶ [οὐκὶν *B*] *Vα*
 || 8/9 τοῦτο—δαμάσαι: he torments us with fire *SI*,
deest in V || 9 τάχα *Vα*: *deest in W SI*.

Gc

προσηγορίας καὶ τοὺς κανόνας
 τοῦ πρώτου γράμματος
 εἰρηκότος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἠπόρησεν ἐπὶ τὴν
 τοιαύτην διδασκαλίαν. καὶ
 ἐβόησε λέγων· οἴμοι, ὅτι
 ἠπατήθην ὁ τάλας ἐγὼ καὶ
 ἐμαυτῷ αἰσχύνην κατέσχον.

2

Ἄρον αὐτὸν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, παρακαλῶ σε,
 ἀδελφέ. οὐ φέρω τὸ αὐστηρὸν τοῦ
 βλέμματος αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ
 τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ.

Gb

προσηγορίας
 τοῦ ἐνὸς γράμματος,
 ἐκπλαγεὶς οὐκ εἶχεν ἀποκριθῆναι
 αὐτῷ, καὶ
 στραφεὶς λέγει τῷ Ἰωσήφ·

5

10

2c ἀδελφέ, τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο ἀληθῶς
 οὐκ ἔστι γηγενές.
 ἄρον οὖν αὐτὸ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.

5

τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον δύναται πῦρ
 δαμάσαι, πάντας καὶ χαλινῶσαι.

A Lt

5 εἰρηκότος—Ἰησοῦ: *deest in Lt* || 5 ἠπόρησεν
cod. || ἐπὶ: *add. de prima littera et de tali homine Lt*
 || 7 ἐβόησε Del: εὐοήσε *cod.* || 8 ἠπατήθην *cod.* ||
 ἠπατήθην—ἐγὼ: *stupefactus sum ego Lt* || 9
 κατέσχον: *add. per istum infantem Lt.*
 2 = *Lt* VI, 9–10a || 2 ante ἄρον: *add. et dixit ad*
Ioseph Lt || 3–5 τὸ—αὐτοῦ: *non possum intueri in*
faciem eius Lt || 4 οὐδὲ: *add. audire graves Lt* || 8/9
 πῦρ δαμάσαι: *παραδαμάσαι cod.* || 9
 χαλινῶσαι: *mare refrenare Lt.*

SC

2c, 1 παιδὶ S.

- Gs*
- 10 πρὸ τῆς κοσμοποιίας
ἦν. ποία γαστήρ τοῦτο
ἐγέννησε ἢ ποία μήτρα ἐξέθρεψεν,
ἐγὼ ἀγνοῶ. οἱμοι, ἀδελφέ,
ἐξηχεῖ με, οὐ παρακολουθῶ τῇ διανοίᾳ
15 μου. ἡπάτησα ἑμαυτὸν, ὁ τρισάθλιος
ἐγὼ· ἡγούμην ἔχειν μαθητὴν, καὶ
εὐρέθην ἔχων διδάσκαλον.
3 Ἐνθυμούμαι, φίλοι, τὴν αἰσχύνην
μου ὅτι γέρων ὑπάρχω καὶ ὑπὸ
παιδίου νενίκημαι.
καὶ ἔχω ἔκκεισαι καὶ
5 ἀποθανεῖν ἢ φυγεῖν τῆς κώμης ταύτης
διὰ τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο. οὐ δύναμαι γάρ,
οὐκ ἔστι ὀραθῆναι εἰς ὅψιν πάντων
μάλιστα τῶν ἰδόντων ὅτι

- Ga*
- πρὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ποιήσιν ἐστὶν
γεγεννημένον. ποία γαστήρ τοῦτον
ἐγέννησεν. ποία δὲ μήτρα ἐξέθρεψεν
τοῦτον, ἐγὼ ἀγνοῶ. οἱμοι, φίλοι,
ἐξηχεῖ με, οὐ παρακολουθῶ τῇ διανοίᾳ
αὐτοῦ. ἡπατήθην, ἐγὼ ὁ τρισάθλιος.
ἐγὼ ἡγωνιζόμεν <ἔχειν μαθητὴν>, καὶ
εὐρέθην ἔχειν διδάσκαλον.
3 Ἐννοῶ τὴν αἰσχύνην,
ὅτι γέρων ὑπάρχω καὶ ὑπὸ
παιδίου ἐνίκηθην.
καὶ ἔχω ἐκκακῆσαι καὶ
ἀποθανεῖν
διὰ τούτου τοῦ παιδίου. οὐ δύναμαι
γάρ ἔτι ὀραθῆναι εἰς τὴν ὅψιν αὐτοῦ.
μάλιστα εἰπόντων πάντων ὅτι

11–13 Luke 11:27; *Gos. Thom.* 79; *Prot. Jas.* 3:2.

11–13 Luke 11:27; *Gos. Thom.* 79; *Prot. Jas.* 3:2.

H

- 2, 17 ἔχοντα *cod.*..
3, 6 τῷ *cod.*..

WVαSl

9–11 τοῦτο—γεγεννημένον: it is beyond me
whence he came *Sl* || 10 τοῦ—κόσμου ποιήσιν:
κοσμοποιίας *Vα* || 11 τοῦτον: τοῦτο *α*, αὐτὸν *V*
|| 12 ἐγέννησεν: ἐβάστασεν *α* || 13/14 ποία—
ἀγνοῶ: *deest in V* || 12/13 ἐξέθρεψεν τοῦτον:
τοῦτο ἐξ. *α* || 13–15 οἱμοι—τρिसάθλιος: *deest in*
V Sl || 13 φίλε *α* || 14 παρακολουθῶ: -θήσω *BM*
Tisch & c., -θήσομαι *D* || 15 ἡπατήθην: -ησα *α*,
add. ἑαυτὸν *α*, *add.* ἑμαυτὸν *Thilo* || ὁ
τρिसάθλιος ἐγὼ *α* || 16 ἐγὼ: *deest in α* || ἔχειν
μαθητὴν *VαSl: deest in W* || 17 εὐρον *V* || ἔχειν:
deest in V.
3, 1 ἐννοῶ: ἐνθυμούμαι φίλοι *Vα* || 2 ὅτι: ὅς *Thilo*
|| ὑπάρχω *V*: -ων *W M Tisch & c.*, -ει *BD Thilo* ||
καὶ: *deest in Vα* || 3 ἐνίκηθην: -θει *B*, *shamed Sl* ||
4–6 *pr.* καὶ—παιδίου: *deest in V* || ἀποθανεῖν:
add. humiliated Sl || 6 διὰ: διαθέσει *W* || τοῦτο *B* ||
παιδός *α* || 7 γάρ: *deest in V* || ἔτι ὀραθῆναι: ἐν
τῇ ᾧρα ταύτῃ βλέψαι [ἐμβλέψαι *D*] *α* || τὴν:
deest in V || 8 μάλιστα—πάντων: καὶ πάντων
μάλιστα εἰπόντων [ὑπόντων *D*] *Vα, deest in Sl* ||
8/9 ὅτι—μικροῦ: *deest in Sl*.

Gc

Gb

παίδιον τοῦτο πρὸ τῆς κοσμοπορίας
ἦν. ποία μὴτηρ αὐτὸ

ἐγέννησεν ἢ τίς ἐξέθρεψεν αὐτό,
ἐγὼ ἀγνοῶ. οἱμοί, φίλοι μου,

ἐξέστη μου ἡ διάνοια.

ἦπατήρην, ἐγὼ ὁ ἄβλιος.

καὶ γὰρ ἡγνωνισόμην ἐχειν μητῆρην, καὶ
εὐθέως ἔχω διδάσκαλον.

3 καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην οὐχ ὑποφέρω

ὅτι γέροντων ὦν ὑπὸ

παίδος ἐνικηθῆναι, ὧν οὐτε ἀρχὴν

εὐρίσκω οὐτε τέλος. καὶ ἔχω ἐκκακησά

καὶ ἀποθάνειν ἢ φύγειν τὴν κώμην

διὰ τὸ παίδιον τοῦτο. οὐ δύναμαι γὰρ

ὀραθῆναι [ἑ. 65] εἰς ὧψιν αὐτοῦ,

πάντων ἰδόντων ὅτι

11-13 Luke 11:27; Gos. Thom. 79; Prot. Jas. 3:2.

A Lr

10/11 κοσμοπορίας ἦν: secula natus est Lr || 11

μητήρ: valva Lr || 12 τίς: qualism mater Lr || 15

ὑπατήρ cod || 16 ἡγνωνισόμην: dicebam me Lr ||

17 εὐθέως: deest in Lr || ἔχω: ipse autem inventus

est Lr.

3 = Lr VI, 10b || 3/4 ὧν—τέλος: ei quid ei loquar

non possum invenire Lr || 4-9 pr. καὶ—ἐνικηθῆναι:

unde habeo invenire in validam infirmitatem et de

isto seculo transmigrae, aut de ista civitate egredere,

quia omnes videntur in turpitudinem meam: infans

decepit me Lr.

Gs

ἐνικήθην ὑπὸ παιδίου πάνυ μικροῦ. τί
10 δὲ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ἢ διηγῆσασθαι τινι περὶ
ᾧ προέθηκέν μοι κανόνας τοῦ πρώτου
στοιχείου; ἀληθῶς ἄγνοῶ, φίλοι· οὔτε
γὰρ ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ τέλος ἐπίσταμαι.

4 Τοιγαροῦν, ἀδελφὲ Ἰωσήφ,
ὑπάγε αὐτὸ μετὰ σωτηρίας εἰς τὸν
οἶκόν σου. τοῦτο γὰρ [f. 69^v] τὸ
παιδίου τί ποτε μέγα ἐστίν, ἢ θεός, ἢ
5 ἄγγελος, ἢ τί εἶπω οὐκ οἶδα.

VIII 1

Τὸ παιδίον Ἰησοῦς ἐγέλασεν
καὶ εἶπεν· νῦν
καρποφορεῖτωσαν τὰ ἄκαρπα καὶ
5 βλεπέτωσαν οἱ τυφλοὶ καὶ φρονέτωσαν
οἱ ἄσοφοι τῇ καρδίᾳ ὅτι
ἐγὼ ἄνωθεν πάρεμι ἵνα τοὺς κάτω
ρύσωμαι καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄνω

Ga

ἐνικήθην ὑπὸ παιδίου μικροῦ, τί ἔχω
<εἰπεῖν καὶ> διηγῆσασθαι τινι περὶ
ᾧ μοι εἶπεν κανόνων τοῦ ᾧ
στοιχείου <ἄγνοῶ, ὦ φίλοι>; οὐ
γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἀρχὴν ἢ τέλος γινώσκω.

4 Τοιγαροῦν ἀξιῶ σε, ἀδελφὲ
Ἰωσήφ, ἀπάγαγε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν
οἶκόν σου. τοῦτο ἐν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ
ἢ θεός ἐστίν, ἢ
ἄγγελος, ἢ τί εἶπω οὐκ οἶδα.

VIII 1 Τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων

παραρνούμενων τὸν Ζακχαῖον, ἐγέλασε
τὸ παιδίον μέγα <καὶ εἶπεν· νῦν>
καρποφορεῖτωσαν τὰ σα, καὶ
βλεπέτωσαν οἱ τυφλοὶ
τῇ καρδίᾳ ὅτι
ἐγὼ ἄνωθεν πάρεμι ἵνα τοὺς κάτω
ρύσωμαι καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄνω

H

9 πάνυ: πονοὶ *cod.* || 11 ὃν *cod.* || προσέθηκεν
cod.

4, 1 τί γὰρ οὖν *cod.* || 2 αὐτῷ *cod.*

VIII, 1, 5 φρονέσατα *cod.* || 8 ρύσωμεν *cod.*

WVαSl

9 παιδίου μικροῦ: τοῦ παιδίου τοῦτο V || 9-13
τί—γινώσκω: *deest in V* || 10 εἰπεῖν καὶ αSl:
deest in W || διηγῆσασθαι τινι: τί δ. α || 11 μοι
αSl: μου W || ᾧ: πρώτου α || 12 ἄγνοῶ ὦ φίλοι
α: *deest in W Sl* || 13 αὐτοῦ—τελος: ἀρχὴν καὶ
τέλος αὐτοῦ οὐ α.

4, 1-3 τοιγαροῦν—σου: *deest in V* || 1 ἀξιῶ σε:
deest in Sl || 2 Ἰωσήφ: *deest in Sl* || 3 τοῦτο WV
BM Thilo: οὗτος Tisch & c., τοῦτος D, *add.* τό
παιδίον V || 4 ἐν—δοκεῖ: τί ποτε μέγα αSl, μέγα
|| 5 ἐστίν ἢ θεός Vα || 5 ἢ—οἶδα: *deest in V*.

VIII, 1, 1-3 τῶν—καί: τὸ δὲ παιδίον V || 1/2
τῶν—παραρνούμενων: in the presence of the Jews
standing near Sl || 2 τῷ Ζακχαίῳ α || 3 καὶ εἶπεν
α, εἶπεν V, *deest in W* || νῦν VαSl: *deest in W* || 4/5
τὰ—βλεπέτωσαν: πάντες V || 5 τυφλοὶ: *add.* and
the deaf hear and the uncomprehending understand
Sl || 6 ὅτι: *deest in α* || 7 πάρεμι Thilo & c.:
πάρημοι *codd.* || τοὺς: αὐτοὺς α || 7/8 κάτω
ρύσωμαι: καταράσσομαι α || 8 τὰ Vα: τὸν W.

Gc

Gb

ὑπὸ παιδὸς ἐνικήθην. τί δὲ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ἢ
διηγῆσασθαι περὶ
ὧν προέθηκέ μοι κανόνα τοῦ πρώτου
στοιχείου, οὐ ἐγὼ ἀγνοῶ.

10

4 Παρακαλῶ σε, ἀδελφέ,
ὑπάγε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν
οἶκόν σου. οὗτος γὰρ
μέγας ἐστὶν ἢ θεός, ἢ
ἄγγελος, ἢ κτίστης τῶν ἀπάντων.

5

VIII 1 Τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων
παραινούντων τὸν Ζακχαῖον ἐγέλασεν
ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ εἶπεν· νῦν
καρποφορεῖτωσαν τὰ ἄκαρπα. νῦν
βλεπέτωσαν τὰ ἄβλεπα. νῦν
ἀκουέτωσαν οἱ κωφοὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ ὅτι
ἐγὼ ἄνωθεν πάρεμι ἵνα τοὺς κάτω
ρύσωμαι. καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄνω

5

A Lt

12 ἀγνοῶ *add.* stupesco ego o amici mei et noti
mei: neque primordium neque finem possum
invenire quid ei respondeam Lt.

4 =Lt VI, 11 || 1 ἀδελφέ: *add.* Ioseph Lt || 4 μέγας:
iste magister Lt || θεός: dominus Lt || 5 ἄγγελος:
add. quid dicam nescio Lt || ἢ—ἀπάντων: *deest in*
Lt.

VIII =Lt VI, 12 || 1, 1/2 τῶν—ἐγέλασεν: *conversus*
ad Iudaeos qui cum Zacheo Lt || 5 ἄβλεπα: *add.*
non intelligentes intelligant Lt || 6 τῇ καρδίᾳ: *add.*
et qui propter me mortui sunt resurgant Lt || 6–9
ὅτι—βλέπω: et hos qui sunt sublimes ad altiora
vocem Lt.

Gs
καλέσω, καθὼς διεστείλατό με ὁ
10 ἀποστείλας με πρὸς ὑμᾶς.
2 Καὶ
εὐθέως
ἐσώθησαν πάντες ὑπὸ τὰς
κατάραις αὐτοῦ πεπτωκότες καὶ οὐδεὶς
5 ἐτόλμα παροργίσει αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τότε.

Ga
καλέσω, καθὰ διετάξατο ὁ
ἀποστείλας με πρὸς ὑμᾶς.
2 Καὶ ὥς [ε. 202'] τὸ παιδίον
κατέπαυσε τὸν λόγον, εὐθέως
ἐσώθησαν <οἱ πάντες οἱ> ὑπὸ τὴν
κατάραι αὐτοῦ πεσόντες. καὶ οὐδεὶς
ἀπὸ τότε ἐτόλμα παροργίσει αὐτόν,
μήπως καταράσεται αὐτοὺς καὶ
ἔσονται ἀνάπηροι.

5
10
VIII Appendix Πορευομένου δὲ
τοῦ Ἰησοῦ εἶδε τινα ἐργαστήριον καὶ
τινα νεανίσκον βάπτων εἰς λέβητας
ἱμάτια καὶ τζόχας τινὰς διαφόρους
φαιάς, τὸ καθέκαστον ἐκτελῶν κατὰ
τὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου βούλησιν.
εἰσελθὼν οὖν τὸ παιδίον Ἰησοῦς οὕτως
ποιοῦντα τὸν νεανίαν λαβὼν καὶ
αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν προσκειμένων
ύφασμάτων...

IX 1 Πάλιν δὲ μεθ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς
ἔπαιζεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς μετὰ καὶ ἐτέρων
παιδίων ἐν τινι δώματι ὑπερώω.

IX 1 Μεθ' ἡμέρας δέ τινας
ἔπαιζεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς
ἐν τινι δοματίῳ ἐν ὑπερώω,

1, 9/10 John 7:16; 8:29; 12:49; 14:24; Mark 9:37;
Luke 9:48; 10:16; Matt 10:40.

1, 9/10 John 7:16; 8:29; 12:49; 14:24; Mark 9:37;
Luke 9:48; 10:16; Matt 10:40.

H
2, 3 τῆς *cod.* || 4 πεποιθότες *cod.*
IX, 1, 1 μετὰ *cod.* || 3 ὑπερώων *cod.*

WVαSI
9 καλέσαι *V* || καθὼς Tisch & c. || ἐτάξατο *V* || 10
πρὸς *V*: εἰς *W*, δι' *α* || ἡμᾶς *V^{pc} BM*.
2, 1-4 καὶ—πεσόντες: *deest in V* || 3 οἱ πάντες οἱ
αSI: *deest in W* || 6 μήπως—αὐτοὺς: *deest in V* ||
μήπως: ὅπως μὴ *α* || καταράσεται Thilo ||
αὐτόν *α* || 6/7 καὶ—ἀνάπηροι: *deest in VSI* || 7
ἔσται ἀνάπηρος *α*.

P
VIII Appendix, 10 ὑφασμάτων *des. cod.*
WVP αSI
IX, 1 μεθ': καὶ μεθ' *α* || 3 δοματίῳ: [τόπω *add.*
D] δώματι *α* || ὑπερώω: ἰπέω *V*.

*Gc**Gb*

βλέπω καθὼς προσέταξέ μοι ὁ
ἀποστείλας με πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

10

2 Καὶ ὥς ταῦτα
εἶπε τὸ παιδίον,
ἐγένοντο ὑγιεῖς πάντες ψυχῇ καὶ
σώματι καὶ οὐδεὶς
ἐτόλμα εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ λόγον πονηρόν.

5

5

10

IX 1 Μιᾶ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν
ἔπαιζεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς σὺν τοῖς
παισὶ καὶ

VIII 1 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα μιᾶ τῶν
ἡμερῶν ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς παίζων σὺν
ἄλλοις παισὶν ἐπάνω διστέγου οἴκου.

1, 9/10 John 7:16; 8:29; 12:49;14:24; Mark 9:37;
Luke 9:48; 10:16; Matt 10:40.

A Lt

9 προσέταξέ Del: προέταξέ *cod.*.

2, 3/4 ἐγένοντο—σώματι: *salvi facti sunt omnes infirmi qui propter sermones eius infirmabantur Lt* ||

5 αὐτὸ *cod.* || λόγον πονηρόν: *deest in Lt.*

IX, 1 = *Lt* VII, 1 || 1 ἡμερῶν: *add. ascenderet in domo quadam Lt.*

Gs

ἐν δὲ τῶν παιδίων
 5 πεσῶν
 ἀπέθανεν. ἰδόντες δὲ τὰ ἄλλα
 παιδία ἀπῆλθον εἰς τοὺς οἴκους
 αὐτῶν. κατέλιπον δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν
 μόνον.

10

2 Καὶ ἐλθόντες οἱ γονεῖς τοῦ
 τεθνηκότος παιδίου ἐνεκάλουν
 τῷ Ἰησοῦ λέγοντες. σὺ κατέβαλες τὸ
 παιδίον ἡμῶν. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· ἐγὼ
 5 οὐ κατέβαλον αὐτό.

Ga

καὶ ἐν τῶν παιδίων τῶν παιζόντων
 πεσῶν ἀπὸ τῆς διστέγου κάτω,
 ἀπέθανεν. ἰδόντα δὲ τὰ ἄλλα
 παιδία ἔφυγον εὐθέως.
 κατελείφθη δὲ μόνος ὁ Ἰησοῦς.

2 Καὶ ἐλθόντες οἱ γονεῖς τοῦ
 ἀποθάνοντος παιδίου ἐνεκάλουν
 αὐτὸν ὡς αὐτὸς κατέβαλε αὐτόν.
 ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐπηρέαζον αὐτὸν
 καταβαλόντων αὐτόν.

H

6 ἰδῶν *cod.*.2, 3 κατέβαλες *cod.* || 5 κατέβαλα *cod.*.

WVαSl

4 *alt.* τῶν: *deest in V* || παιζόντων: *add.* μεθ'
 αὐτοῦ α || 5 ἀπὸ—κάτω: *deest in V* || τῆς
 διστέγου: τοῦ δώματος α || 6 ἰδόντα δὲ: ἰδόντες
 δὲ V, καὶ ἰδόντα Thilo & c., καὶ ἰδῶν α || 6/7 τὰ
 ἄλλα παιδία: οἱ ἕτεροι V || 7 εὐθέως: *deest in α* ||
 8 κατελείφθη δὲ: ἐν ἀπελείφθη δὲ V, *remained Sl*,
 καὶ κατέβη α Thilo, καὶ κατέστη Tisch & c. ||
 μόνος ὁ Ἰησοῦς: ὁ ἰ. μ. α, μόνος V.
 2, 1 ἐλθόντα α || οἱ Vα: ἡ W || 2 ἀποθάνοντος
 παιδίου: τεθνηκότος V, τεθνεώτος DM Tisch &
 c., παιδίου ἡγουν τοῦ τεθνεώτος B Thilo || 2/3
 ἐνεκάλουν αὐτόν: ἐνεκάλουν α, ἐνεκαλήσαν
 τῷ Ἰωσήφ V, *shouted at Jesus Sl* || 3 ὡς—αὐτόν:
 ὡς αὐτὸς καταβαλόντος αὐτόν W, ὡς αὐτόν
 [καταβληθέντα αὐτόν *add. DB Thilo*] α, [ὡς
 καταβαλόντα αὐτόν *add. Tisch*] καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς
 εἶπεν· ἐγὼ οὐδέποτε κατέβαλον αὐτόν *coni.*
 Tisch & c., *you have thrown down our child. But*
Jesus answered: I have not thrown him down. He
injured himself and slipped, falling off the roof. So
now he is dead Sl, deest in V || 4 ἐκεῖνοι Vα: -ον W
 || 4/5 ἐκεῖνοι—αὐτόν: *deest in V M Sl* || 4
 ἐπηρέαζον Thilo & c.: -όντων W, -οι D,
 -οντο B || 5 καταβαλόντων αὐτόν: *deest in α*

Gc

ἐν παιδίου
ἔπεσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνωγαίου καὶ
ἀπέθανεν. ὥς δὲ εἶδον τὰ παιδία τὸ
πτῶμα, ἔφυγον.
ἀπέμεινε δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς
μόνος εἰς τὸ ἀνώγαιον.

2 Ἐλθόντες δὲ οἱ γονεῖς τοῦ
τεθνηκότος παιδίου ἔλεγον
τῷ Ἰησοῦ ὅτι σὺ αὐτὸν κατέβαλες.

Gb

καὶ κατωθισθὲν ἐν παιδίον ὑπὸ ἄλλου
κρημνιζόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ 5
ἀπέθανεν. καὶ ἰδόντες οἱ συμπαῖζοντες
αὐτῷ παῖδες ἔφυγον,
καὶ μόνος ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὑπελείφθη ἐστῶς
ἐπάνω τοῦ στέγου οὗ κατεκρημνίσθη ὁ
παῖς. 10

2 Καὶ μαθόντες οἱ γονεῖς τοῦ
τεθνηκότος παιδὸς ἔδραμον μετὰ
κλαυθμοῦ. καὶ εὐρόντες τὸν μὲν παῖδα
κατὰ γῆς νεκρὸν κείμενον, τὸν
δὲ Ἰησοῦν ἄνωθεν ἐστῶτα, 5
ὑπολαβόντες ὥς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
κατακρημνισθῆναι τὸν τούτον παῖδα,
καὶ ἀτενίζοντες ὠνείδιζον αὐτόν.

A Lt

5 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνωγαίου: per posticum *Lt* || 6
ἀπέθανεν: *add. statim Lt* || 6/7 τὰ—πτῶμα: hoc *Lt*
|| 9 μόνος: *deest in Lt*.
2-3 = *Lt VII, 2* || 2, 3 ὅτι—κατέβαλες: *vere tu eum*
intruere fecisti et insidiabantur ei Lt.

SC

4 παιδὶν *S* || 5 γῆς: *deest in C* || 9 στέγους *C* ||
κατεκρημνίσθη *C*.
2, 7 τούτον: *om. Tisch*.

Gs

3 Ἐκείνων δὲ ἐμμαινομένων καὶ
κραζόντων κατέβη Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ τοῦ
στεύου καὶ ἔστη παρὰ τὸ
πτῶμα καὶ ἔκραξεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ
5 λέγων· Ζῆνον, Ζῆνον—τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ
ὄνομα αὐτοῦ—, ἀνάστα καὶ εἰπέ εἰ ἐγώ
σε κατέβαλον. καὶ ἀναστὰς

εἶπε· οὐχί, κύριε.

10

καὶ ἰδόντες ἐθαύμασαν. καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ
πάλιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς· καὶ κοιμοῦ. καὶ οἱ
γονεῖς τοῦ παιδίου
15 ἐδόξασαν τὸν Θεὸν
καὶ προσεκύνησαν τὸ παιδίον Ἰησοῦν.

X 1 Ἦν δὲ τὸ παιδίον Ἰησοῦς ὥς

Ga

3

Κατεπήδησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ τοῦ
στεύου καὶ ἔστηκεν παρὰ τοῦ
πτώματος καὶ ἔκραξεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ
καὶ εἶπε· Ζῆνον—οὕτω γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ
παῖς—, ἀναστὰς εἰπέ μοι,
ἐγώ σε κατέβαλον; καὶ ἀναστὰς

παραχρῆμα εἶπεν· οὐχί, κύριε,
οὐ κατέβαλας ἀλλὰ ἀνέστησας.

καὶ ἰδόντες ἐξεπλάγησαν.

οἱ δὲ
γονεῖς τοῦ παιδίου καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν
ἀναστάντα <ἐδόξασαν τὸν Θεὸν
καὶ> προσεκύνησαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ.

XI 1 Ὦντος δὲ αὐτοῦ

X Prov 30:4.

H

3, 1 ἐμμενώντω *cod.* || 3 ἔστι *cod.* || 4 φωνὴν
μεγάλην *cod.*

XI Prov 30:4.

WVαSI

3, 2/3 κατεπήδησεν—καί: ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς *V*, *deest in SI* || 3 στεύου *DM*: -ους *W*, στέατος *B* || ἔστη *Vα* ||
3-5 ἔστηκεν—εἶπε: and Jesus shouted to the boy in
his own name *SI* || 3/4 παρὰ τοῦ πτώματος: τὸ
πτῶμα τοῦ παιδίου *α*, ἐνθα ἔκειτο τὸ πτῶμα *V*
|| 4 ἔκραξε *Santos Bon Sch* || 4 φωνὴν μεγάλην *α* ||
5 Ζῆνον Ζῆνον *V* || 5/6 οὕτω—παῖς: οὕτω γὰρ
τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκαλεῖτο *α*, οὕτως γὰρ ἦν τὸ
ὄνομα αὐτοῦ *V*, *deest in SI* || 6 εἰπέ μοι: *deest in SI*
|| 7 σε *α*: σοι *WV* || 7-9 καί—εἶπεν *Vα*: and the boy
rose from death *SI*, ὁ δὲ παῖς ἔφη *W* || 10 οὐ—
ἀνέστησας: *deest in SI* || οὐ κατέβαλας *α*:
ἐκατέβαλας *W*, *deest in V* || ἀνέστησας: *add. μέν*
V || 13 δὲ *Vα*: *deest in W* || 14/15 καί—ἀναστάντα:
deest in VPαSI || 15/16 ἐδόξασαν—καὶ *VαSI*:
deest in W || Θεὸν: *add. ἐπὶ τὸ γεγονότι σημείου*
α, ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι σημείῳ *V* || 16 καί—Ἰησοῦ
deest in V.

XI, 1, 1 αὐτοῦ *Vα*: -ὸν *W*.

Gc

3 Ὡς δὲ ἐμαίνοντο κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ
κατῆλθε κάτω
καὶ στὰς ἐπάνω τοῦ
πτώματος ἔκραζε λέγων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ
τεθνηκότος· [f. 65^v] Ζῆνον, Ζῆνον,
ἀνάστα καὶ εἰπέ
ἐγὼ σε κατέβαλα; καὶ ἀναστὰς

παραχρῆμα εἶπεν· οὐχί, κύριε, οὐχί.

ιδόντες

δὲ οἱ

γονεῖς αὐτοῦ τὸ παράδοξον θαῦμα ὃ
ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐδόξασαν τὸν θεὸν
καὶ προσεκύνησαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

XI 1 Γενομένου δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς*Gb*

3 Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἰδὼν εὐθέως
κατεπήδησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ διστέγου,
καὶ ἔστη πρὸς [f. 112^r] κεφαλῆς τοῦ
τεθνηκότος καὶ
λέγει αὐτῷ· Ζῆνον, 5
εἰ ἐγὼ σε κατέβαλον; ἀνάστα καὶ εἰπέ.
οὕτως γὰρ ἑκαλεῖτο ὁ παῖς.
καὶ ἅμα τῷ λογῷ ἀνέστη ὁ παῖς, καὶ
προσκυνήσας τὸν Ἰησοῦν εἶπεν· κύριε,
οὐ σύ με κατέβαλας, ἀλλὰ νεκρὸν ὄντα 10
με ἐζώωσας.

X 1a Γενομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ**XI** Prov 30:4.**X** Prov 30:4.*A Lt*

3, 1 ὥς—Ἰησοῦ: *deest in Lt* || 4 ἔκραζε: *add. clara*
voce Lt || 7 κατεύαλα *cod.* || 9 *alt.* οὐχί: *deest in Lt.*

*AT Lt***XI** = *Lt IX* || 1, 1 παιδὸς: Ἰησοῦ *T.**SC*3, 7 οὗτος *S* || 11 με: *add. [*9*] del. S.*

- Gs*
 ἐτῶν ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐπέμφθη ὑπὸ τῆς
 μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας γε[*f. 70*]μίασαι
 ὕδωρ. ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑδρίᾳ ἦν ὁ ὄχλος πολὺς
 5 κρουσθεῖσα ἡ κάλπη ἀπέρραγεν.
 2 Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀπλώσας τὸ παλῖον
 ὃν βεβλημένος, ἐγέμισεν τὸ
 ὕδωρ καὶ
 ἤνεγκεν τῇ μητρὶ
 5 αὐτοῦ. Μαρία δὲ ἰδοῦσα
 ὃ ἐποίησεν
 σημεῖον ὃ Ἰησοῦς κατεφίλει αὐτὸν
 λέγουσα· κύριε ὁ Θεός μου εὐλόγησον
 τὸ τέκνον μου. ἐφόβουντο γὰρ μή τις
 10 αὐτὸ βασκάνῃ.

XI 1 Ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ σπόρου
 σπείροντος τοῦ Ἰωσήφ

- Ga*
 ἐξαέτους, πέμπει αὐτὸν ἡ μήτηρ
 αὐτοῦ Μαρία ἀντλήσαι ὕδωρ δεδωκυῖα
 αὐτῷ ὑδρίαν. ἐν δὲ τῷ ὄχλῳ
 συγκρουσθεῖσα, ἡ ὑδρία διερράγη.
 2 Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀπλώσας τὸ παλλίον
 ὅπερ αὐτοῦ ἐβέβληται, ἐγέμισεν αὐτὸ
 ὕδωρ καὶ
 ἤνεγκε τῇ μητρὶ
 αὐτοῦ. ἰδοῦσα δὲ ἡ Μαρία
 τὸ γεγονὸς
 <σημεῖον> κατεφίλει αὐτόν, καὶ
 διετῆρει ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ μυστήρια ἃ
 ἔβλεπεν αὐτὸν ποιοῦντα.

XII 1 Πάλιν δὲ ἐν καιρῷ τοῦ σπόρου
 ἐξηλθεν μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ

XI cf. John 4:31–38; Mark 4:3–8 par; *Gos. Thom.*
 9; *Ap. Jas.* 8:3; *Pap. Eg.* 4.

XII cf. John 4:31–38; Mark 4:3–8 par; *Gos. Thom.*
 9; *Ap. Jas.* 8:3; *Pap. Eg.* 4.

H
X, 1, 2 ἐπεύθη *cod.* || 5 κρουσθούσα *cod.* ||
 ἀπόραγεν *cod.*..
 2, 9 μου: μας *cod.*..

WVa SI
 2 ἐξαέτους: seven years old *SI* || πέμπει αὐτόν:
 went *SI* || πέμπει: *add.* δὲ *B* || 3 Μαρία: *deest in Va*
 || ἀντλήσαι ὕδωρ: ὕ. ἀ. *Va*, *add.* καὶ φέρειν
 [φέρει *D*] ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ *α* || δεδωκυῖα Thilo Santos
 Bon: δεδωκῶς *Wa* Thilo Sch, δέδωκε *V* || 3/4
 δεδωκυῖα—ὄχλῳ: carrying the jug in the crowd *SI*
 || 4 αὐτῷ *Va*: -ὄν *W* || ὑδρίαν: τῇ ὑδρίᾳ *V* || 5
 συγκρουσθεῖσα: κρουσθεῖσα *V*, συγκρούσας *α* || ἡ
 ὑδρία: *deest in V* || κατερράγη *V*, ἐρράγη *α*.
 2, 2 ὅπερ αὐτοῦ ἐβέβληται: ὁ ἦν περὶ
 βεβλημένος *V*, ὅπερ [ὄνπερ *BM*] ἦν βεβλημένος
 [βεβλημένου *B*] *α* || αὐτό: -ῶ *V* || 3 ὕδατος Thilo ||
 5 ἡ Μαρία: ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ *Va* || 6 τὸ γεγονὸς:
 γεγόμενον *V* || 7 σημεῖον *Va*: *deest in W SI* ||
 κατεφίλησεν *B* Thilo || 7–9 καὶ—ποιοῦντα: *deest*
in SI || 8 αὐτῇ: ἐαυτῇ *V* || αὐτόν: αὐτὸ *α*.
XII, 1, 2 ἐξηλθεν: *add.* τὸ παιδίον *Va*, the boy
 Jesus *SI*.

Gc

ἔξαετοῦς, ἔξαπέστειλεν αὐτὸν ἡ
Θεοτόκος ἵνα ἀγάγει ὕδωρ.
ὄχλου δὲ ὄντος πολλοῦ ἐν τῇ πηγῇ,
ἐκλάσθη ἡ ὑδρία αὐτοῦ.

2 Καὶ ἀπλώσας τὸ πάλλιον αὐτοῦ
ὃ ἐφόρει ἔθηκεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸ
ὕδωρ καὶ
ἐπήγαγε τῇ μητρὶ
αὐτοῦ Μαριάμ. ἰδοῦσα δὲ ἡ μήτηρ
αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀγία Θεοτόκος τὸ σημεῖον ὃ
ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, κατεφίλησεν αὐτὸν
καὶ εἶπε· κύριε, ἐλέησον
τὸν υἱόν μου.

Gb

ἐτῶν 5, ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν Μαριάμ ἡ
μήτηρ αὐτοῦ κομίσαι ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς
πηγῆς. πορευόμενος δὲ συνετρίβη ἡ
ὑδρία αὐτοῦ. 5

1b καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐν τῇ πηγῇ ἥπλωσε
τὸν ἐπενδύτην αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀντλήσας
ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς ἔπλησεν αὐτόν, καὶ
λαβὼν ἀπήγαγε τὸ ὕδωρ [f. 112^v] τῇ
μητρὶ αὐτοῦ. ἰδοῦσα δὲ 5
ἐκείνη ἐξεπλάγη, καὶ
περιπλακείσα κατεφίλει αὐτόν.

XII 1 Ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ σπόρου
ἀπῆλθεν ὁ Ἰωσήφ

XII cf. John 4:31–38; Mark 4:3–8 par; *Gos. Thom.*
9; *Ap. Jas.* 8:3; *Pap. Eg.* 4.

AT Lt

2 ἔξ ἐτῶν T || ἀπέστειλεν T || 2/3 Θεοτόκος:
μήτηρ αὐτοῦ T Lt || 3 ἵνα ἀγάγει: ἀγάγειν T, ad
hauriendam Lt || ὕδωρ: add. καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς
εἰς τὸ γεμήσαι T || 4 δὲ: *deest in T* || πολλοῦ—
πηγῇ: *cumque venisset Iesus ad fontem vel ad*
puteum erant ibi plurimae turbae Lt, deest in T.
2, 1 παλίου *codd.* || αὐτοῦ Del || 2 ἐπ': ἐν T || τὸ:
deest in T || 4 ἡπάγαγεν T || 5/6 μήτηρ—
Θεοτόκος: Θεοτόκος T, *Mariae matri eius Lt* || 6/7
τὸ—Ἰησοῦς T: ὅτι [ὅ τι Del] ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς
σημεῖον A || 6 σημεῖον: *miraculum Lt* || 8 ἐλέησον:
exaudi me et salva Lt || 9 τὸν υἱόν μου: μου τὸ
τέκνον T.

XII =Lt X.

SC

2 5: ἔξ C.

Gs

ἔσπειρεν

- 5 καὶ τὸ
παιδίον Ἰησοῦς ἕνα κόρον σίτου.
2 Καὶ ἐθέρισεν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ

- κόρους ῥ μεγάλους. καὶ ἐχαρίσατο
5 πτωχοῖς καὶ ὀρφανοῖς.

ἦρεν δὲ ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ τοῦ σπόρου
τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

10

XII 1 Ἐγένετο δὲ ὡς ἐτῶν

ὀκτώ. καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τέκονος
ὄντος

Ga

[f. 202^v] ἵνα σπείρει σῖτον εἰς τὴν
χώραν αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐν τῷ σπείρειν τὸν
πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἔσπειρεν καὶ τὸ
παιδίον Ἰησοῦς ἕνα κόκκου σίτου.

2 Καὶ θερίσας καὶ

ἀλωνίσας

ἐποίησεν

μέδιμνους ῥ. καὶ καλέσας τοὺς

πτωχοὺς πάντας καὶ πένητας τοὺς ἐν
τῇ κώμῃ ἐν τῇ ἄλωνι ἐχαρίσατο αὐτοῖς
τὸν σῖτον, ἀλλὰ λειφθέν τι ἔλαβε τοῦτο
ὁ Ἰωσήφ καὶ ἄπηγεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον
αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ σίτου τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. ἦν δὲ
λοιπὸν ἐτῶν ἡ ὅτε τοῦτο ἐποίησεν
ὁ Ἰησοῦς.

XIII 1

Τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τέκονος
ὄντος

H

WVaSl

3 ἵνα σπείρει: ἵνα σπείρῃ Thilo, εἰς τὸ σπείραι
V || 3/4 εἰς τὴν χώραν: ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ V || 4 αὐτῶν
αSl || σπείρειν Vα: -ει W || 5 αὐτοῦ Vα: of them
Sl, deest in W || ἔασπειρεν M || 6 παιδίον: add. ὁ Vα
|| κόκκου σίτου: κ. -ον α, κόρον σ. V.

2, 4 μέδιμνους: κόρους V, κάρους α || 4/5

πάντας τοὺς πτωχοὺς Vα || 5 καὶ πένητας

τοὺς: and lowly Sl, deest in Vα || 5/6 ἐν τῇ κώμῃ:

τῆς κώμης Vα, deest in Sl || 6 ἐν τῇ ἄλωνι: εἰς

τὸν [τὴν V Tisch & c.] ἄλωνα Vα, into the barn Sl

|| 7 τὸν: deest in V || σῖτον: add. πολλὴν V || 7-9

ἀλλὰ—Ἰησοῦ: ὁ δὲ Ἰωσήφ εὗρεν τὸν

απολειφθέντα σῖτον ἐκ τοῦ σπόρου τοῦ Ἰησοῦ

V, καὶ Ἰωσήφ ἔφερεν τὸ καταλειφθέν τοῦ σίτου

α, corruptum est Sl || 10 λοιπὸν: deest in Vα Sl ||

τοῦτο—Ἰησοῦς: ταῦτα ἐποίει V, τοῦτο ἐποίησε

[ἐποίησας B] τὸ σημεῖον α, at that time Sl.

XIII, 1, 2/3 τοῦ—ὄντος: ὁ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ

τέκτων ἦν α, τοῦ δὲ Ἰωσήφ τὸν τέκνονος ὄντος

V.

*Gc**Gb*

ἵνα σπείρῃ σῖτον. ἠκολούθησε δὲ αὐτὸν
ὁ Ἰησοῦς. καὶ ἐν τῷ σπείρειν τὸν
Ἰωσήφ ἔσπειρε καὶ ὁ
Ἰησοῦς μίαν [f. 66] δράκα.

5

2 Ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ θέρους
συνάξας ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὃν ἔσπειρε σῖτον,
ἠλώνισεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ
μόδια ἑκατόν. καὶ καλέσας
χήρας καὶ ὀρφανούς
δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς
τὸν σῖτον ὃν ἔσπειρε. κεκράτηκε δὲ
ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σίτου ὀλίγον
ἵνα ἔχωσιν εἰς εὐλογίαν τοῦ σπόρου.

5

10

XIII 1 Ἐγένετο δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐτῶν
ὀκτώ. ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἰωσήφ τέκτων

XI 1 Φθάσας δὲ τὸ ὀγδόον τῆς
ἡλικίας ἔτος, προσετάγη ὁ Ἰωσήφ

*AT Lt**SC*

3 σπείρει *T* || σῖτον: σπόρον *T* || δέ: *deest in T* ||
αὐτῷ *T* || 4 τὸν *T Del*: ὁ *A* || 5 ἐπείρεν *T* || 5/6
ἔσπειρε—δράκαν: *extendit manum Iesus et tulit de
tritico quantum pugillo tenere potuit et dispersit Lt* ||
6 δράκαν: χεῖρὰν καὶ ἔσπειρεν *T*.
2, 1 ἐν—θέρους: *venit ergo Ioseph in tempore
metendi ut meteret messem suam Lt* || 2 συνάξας
ὁ Ἰησοῦς: *venit et Iesus collegit Lt* || ὃν: ὁ *T* || 3
ἠλώνισεν αὐτόν: εὐλογήσεν αὐτῷ *T, deest in Lt* ||
4 μόδια: μονάδια *T* || 5 χήρας καὶ ὀρφανούς:
πτωχοὺς καὶ ὀρφανούς καὶ χήρας *T Lt* || 6
ἔδωκεν *T* || αὐτοῖς *T Lt*: αὐτῶν *A* || 7 ἔσπειρε:
ἐποίησεν *T* || κεκράτηκε: ἐπείρεν *T* || δέ: *add.* καὶ *T*
|| 8 Ἰωσήφ *T Lt*:
Ἰησοῦς *A* || 8-9 ἐξ—σπόρου: εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ
λέγων σῖτον εὐλογίαν χάριν διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτῷ
σπόρον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ *T* || 9 ἔχουσιν *A* || τοῦ
σπόρου: *pro benedictione Iesu in domum suam Lt*.
XIII = *Lt XI* || 1, 2 ὁ: *deest in T* || τέκτων:
architector Lt.

XI, 1, 2 προσεγάγη S.

Gs

- καὶ ἐργαζομένου
 5 ἄροτρα καὶ ζυγούς,
 ἔλαβεν κράββατον
 παρά τινος πλουσίου ἵνα αὐτὸν ποιήσῃ
 μέγαν πάνον καὶ ἐπιτήδειον. καὶ τοῦ
 ἐνὸς κανόνος τοῦ καλουμένου
 10 κολοβωτέρου ὄντος καὶ, μὴ ἔχοντος τὸ
 μέτρον, ἦν λυποῦμενος ὁ Ἰωσήφ καὶ μὴ
 ἔχων τί ποιῆσαι.

- προσέλθων τὸ παιδίον τῷ πατρὶ
 15 αὐτοῦ λέγει· θεὸς κάτω τὰ δύο ξύλα καὶ
 ἐκ τοῦ σου μέρους ἰσοποιήσον αὐτά.
 2 Καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰωσήφ καθὼς
 εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς.

Ga

- καὶ ἐργαζομένου αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐκείνῳ καιρῷ
 ἄροτρα καὶ ζυγούς,
 ἐπετάγη αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι κράββατος
 παρά τινος πλουσίου ὅπως ποιήσῃ
 αὐτῷ. τοῦ
 δὲ ἐνὸς κανόνος τοῦ καλουμένου
 ἐναλλακτοῦ, μὴ ἔχοντος μέτρον,
 κολώβοτερου ὄντος καὶ μὴ
 ἔχων τί ποιῆσαι ὁ Ἰωσήφ,

- εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς·
 θεὸς κάτω τὰ δύο ξύλα, καὶ
 τοῦ μέσου μέρους ἰσοποιήσον αὐτά.
 2 Καὶ ἐποίησεν Ἰωσήφ καθὼς
 εἶπε τὸ παιδίον.

5

H

5 ζυγὰ *cod.* || 8 μέγα πάνον *cod.* || 12 ἔχοντος
cod. || 16 μέρους *cod.* || ἴσαποίησον *cod.*

WVaSl

4 καὶ—αὐτοῦ: ἐργαζομένου *V*, ἐποίει *α*, *deest in SI* || 4/5 ἐν—ζυγούς: *deest in SI* || 4/5 ἐκείνῳ
 καιρῷ: ἐ. τῷ κ. *V*, τῷ [ἐγένετο *add. M*] κ. ἐ. *α* ||
 6–8 ἐπετάγη—αὐτῷ: he wanted to make a chest
 for a certain rich man *SI* || 6 αὐτῷ *Vα* || γενέσθαι:
deest in Vα || 9/10 κανόνος—ἐναλλακτοῦ: two
 boards *SI* || 10 ἐναλλακτοῦ *α*: ἐνηλάκτου *V*,
 ἐνλακτῶν *W*, *add.* ὄντος κολοβωτέρου *Tisch &*
c. || 10/11 μὴ—καὶ: *deest in α* || 10 ἔχοντος: -
 οντας *W*, -ων *V* || μέτρον: *add.* ἀλλὰ *V* || 11
 κολοβώτερον *W* || 11/12 καὶ—Ἰωσήφ: *deest in SI*
 || 12 ἔχων: ἔχοντος *BM Thilo Santos Bon Sch.*, -
 οντες *D Tisch*, -οντα *V* || ποιήσῃ *Thilo* ||
 ὁ Ἰωσήφ: *deest in Vα* || 14 αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς: τὸ
 παιδίον [*add.* ὁ Ἰησοῦς *α*] τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ
 [*add.* (*add.* τὸ *B*) Ἰωσήφ *α*] *Vα* || 15 καὶ: *add.* ἐκ
Vα || 16 τοῦ—μέρους: from your side *SI*.
 2, 1 καὶ ἐποίησεν: ἐ. δὲ *V* || 1/2 καθὼς—παιδίον:
 καθὰ συνέταξεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς *V* || 2 εἶπε: *add.*
 αὐτῷ *Vα* || τὸ παιδίον: *Jesus SI*.

Gc

ἐργαζόμενος

ἄροτρα καὶ ζυγούς· λέγει αὐτῷ τις
 πλούσιος· κύρ Ἰωσήφ ποίησόν μοι
 κλίνην ἔντιμον,
 καλήν. ὁ δὲ Ἰωσήφ ἦν ἐν θλίψει διὰ τὸ
 εἶναι τὸ ἐν ξύλον στρεβλόν.

λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· μὴ λυποῦ, ἀλλὰ
 μάλλον θές τὰ ξύλα καὶ
 ἰσάζωμεν αὐτό.

2 Καὶ ἐποίησε ὁ Ἰωσήφ ὡς
 προσέταξεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς.

Gb

5 ὑπὸ τινος πλουσίου κράββατον
 οἰκοδομῆσαι αὐτῷ. τέκτων γὰρ ἦν. καὶ
 ἐξελθὼν ἐν τῷ ἀργῷ πρὸς συλλογὴν
 ξύλων, συνῆλθεν αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς.
 10 καὶ κόψας δύο ξύλα καὶ πελεκίσας τὸ
 ἐν ἔθηκεν πλησίον τοῦ ἄλλου, καὶ
 μετρήσας εὗρεν αὐτὸ κολοβώτερον, καὶ
 ἰδὼν ἐλυπήθη, καὶ ἐζήτηε εὐρεῖν ἕτερον.
 (2a) Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγει αὐτῷ·
 15 θές τὰ β ταῦτα ὁμοῦ πρὸς ἰσότητα
 τὰς ἀμφοτέρων προτομῶν.
 2b καὶ διαπορεύμενος ὁ Ἰωσήφ περὶ
 τούτου, τί βούληται τὸ παιδίον,
 ἐποίησεν τὸ προσταχθέν. καὶ λέγει
 αὐτῷ πάλιν· κράτησον ἰσχυρῶς τὸ
 κολοβὸν ξύλον. καὶ θαυμάζων ὁ Ἰωσήφ 5

AT Lt

4 ἐργαζόμενος: faciebat Lt || 5 ζυγούς: ζυγάλια
 T, add. quadam Lt || 6 κύρι' T || 7/8 ἔντιμον καλήν:
 ώραϊαν καὶ ἔντιμον T || 8 ὁ—ἦν: ἦν δὲ Ἰωσήφ T
 || θλίψει: add. πολλῇ T || 8/9 τὸ—στρεβλόν:
 lignum quod habebat actum ad hoc opus erat breve
 Lt || 9 ἐν: deest in T || στρεβλόν: στραβόν T || 14
 λέγει: καὶ λέγει T || 14/15 ἀλλὰ μάλλον: deest in
 Lt || 15/16 τὰ—αὐτό: hoc lignum ab uno capite et
 ego per aliud et extrahamus illud Lt || 16 αὐτά T.
 2, 1 καὶ T: deest in A || ὡς: καθὼς T.

SC

9 συνῆλθον S.
 2a, 14 αὐτό C || 15 δύο C Tisch || ὁμοῦ πρὸς:
 ξύλα ὁμοῦ καθ' C || 16 τὰς: om. Tisch ||
 προτομάς C.
 2b, 2 βούλεται C.

Gs

- ἔσθη δὲ τὸ παιδίον ἐκ τοῦ ἑτέρου
 μέρους καὶ ἐκράτησεν τὸ κολοβὸν
 ξύλον, καὶ ἐξέτεινεν αὐτό.
 καὶ ἴσον ἐποίησεν μετὰ τοῦ ἄλλου
 10 ξύλου. καὶ εἶπεν τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ· μὴ
 λυποῦ ἀλλὰ ποίει ὃ θέλεις.
 ὁ δὲ Ἰωσήφ περιλαβὼν [f. 70^v]
 κατεφίλει
 αὐτὸν λέγων· μακάριός
 15 εἰμι ἐγώ, ὅτι τοῦτον παιδίον
 ἔδωκέν μοι ὁ Θεός.

Ga

- ἔσθη δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὸ ἐνδότερον
 μέρους καὶ ἐκράτησεν τὸ κολοβώτερον
 ξύλον, καὶ ἐκτείνας αὐτὸ
 ἴσον ἐποίησεν μετὰ τοῦ ἄλλου.
 καὶ εἶπε τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ· μὴ
 λυποῦ νῦν ἀλλὰ ποίει ὃ θέλεις.
 ὁ δὲ Ἰωσήφ περιλαβὼν τὸ παιδίον
 κατεφίλει
 αὐτὸν λέγων· μακάριός
 εἰμι, ὅτι τοιοῦτον παιδίον
 μοι ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεός.

5

XIII 1 Ἰδὼν δὲ Ἰωσήφ τὸ φρόνημα

XIV 1 Ἰδὼν δὲ Ἰωσήφ τὸν νοῦν τοῦ

H

6 ἔστι *cod.* || 8 αὐτῷ *cod.* || 11 ποίω *cod.* || 15
 οὔτον *cod.*
 XIII, 1, 1 φρόνημον *cod.*

WVaSl

6–8 ἔσθη—ξύλον: then Jesus gripped the shorter
 piece *Sl*, *deest in V* || 6 εἰς τὸ ἐνδότερον: ἐκ τοῦ
 ἑτέρου *α* || 8 αὐτῷ *V* || 9 μετὰ τοῦ ἄλλου: τοῦ
 [αὐτοῦ *B*] ἄλλου *α*, *deest in V* || 10/11 καὶ—
 θέλεις: καὶ εἶδεν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Ἰωσήφ [*add.*
 καὶ *MD*] ἐθαύμασε *α* || 10 πατρὶ αὐτοῦ: Ἰωσήφ
VSl || 11 ὁ θέλεις: ἃ βούλει *V* || 12 ὁ δὲ Ἰωσήφ:
 καὶ *α* || 13–15 κατεφίλει—παιδίον: *deest in M* ||
 13 κατεφίλει: -ησεν *V*, -ησε *B Thilo* || 14 αὐτόν:
 αὐτὸ *V*, *deest in α* || 15 τοιοῦτον παιδίον: τὸ
 παιδίον τοῦτό *Vα* || 16 μοι ἔδωκεν: δέδωκέ μοι
Vα
 XIV, 1, 1 δὲ *Vα*: *deest in W*, *add.* ὁ *V* || 1–3 τὸν—
 ἀκμάζει: τὸ παιδίον πᾶν σοφὸν *V* || 1 νοῦν:
 diligence *Sl*.

Gc

<καὶ κρατήσας ὁ Ἰησοῦς> τὸ ἐν
μέρος τοῦ ξύλου
καὶ ἔτεινεν αὐτό.

καὶ λέγει τῷ Ἰωσήφ·
ποίει ὃ βούλει.
ὁ δὲ Ἰωσήφ ἰδὼν ὃ ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς
σημεῖον περιπλακεὶς ἐφίλησε
τον Ἰησοῦν λέγων· μακάριός
εἰμι, ὅτι τοιοῦτον παιδίον
δέδωκέ μοι ὁ Θεός.

Gb

ἐκράτησεν αὐτό. τότε κρατήσας καὶ
ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὸ ἕτερον ἄκρον εἵλκυσε
αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄλλην προτομήν. ἐποίησεν
κάκεινα ἴσον τοῦ ἄλλου ξύλου, καὶ φησι
πρὸς τὸν Ἰωσήφ· μηκέτι 10
λυποῦ, ἀλλὰ ποίει ἀκωλύτως τὸ ἔργον
σου. καὶ ἰδὼν ἐκεῖνος ὑπερθαύμασεν,

καὶ λέγει καθ' ἑαυτὸν [f.113^r]· μακάριός
εἰμι ἐγώ, ὅτι τοιοῦτον παῖδά 15
μοι ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεός.

3 Ἀπελθόντων δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει
διηγῆσατο τῇ Μαριὰμ ὁ Ἰωσήφ. ἐκείνη
δὲ ἀκούσασά τε καὶ βλέπουσα τὰ
παράδοξα μεγαλεῖα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς 5
ἔχαιρεν, δοξάζουσα αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ
πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ
ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων,
ἀμήν.

XIV 1 Ὡς δὲ εἶδεν Ἰωσήφ ὅτι ὄξυν

AT Lt

6 καὶ—Ἰησοῦς T: *deest in A* || 6–8 καὶ—αὐτός:
quod et factum est et statim invenit illud utile ad
hoc quod voluit Lt || 7 τοῦ ξύλου: *deest in T* || 8 καὶ
T: *deest in A* || αὐτό: αὐτῷ A, αὐτός Del, *deest in*
T || 11 ποίει: *add.* ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν T || 12 ὃ: ὅτι A ||
ὁ Ἰησοῦς: *deest in T* || 13 σημεῖον περιπλακεὶς:
deest in Lt || 13/14 ἐφίλησε τὸν Ἰησοῦν:
κατεφίλησεν αὐτὸν T, *amplexavit eum Lt* || 15
εἰμι: *add.* ἐγὼ T || παιδίον: *filium Lt* || 16 μοι
δέδωκεν T.

XIV =Lt XII || 1, 1 εἶδεν: *add.* ὁ T || 1/2 ὄξυν νοῦν:
ὀξεῖαν νοῦν T, *talem gratiam Lt*.

SC

6 αὐτόν S, αὐτοῦ C || 7 ἤλκησεν S || 9 κάκεινον S ||
12 ἐκείνη C || 15 εἰμι: *deest in C* || 16 δέδωκε C.
3, 3 ἀκούουσα C.

	<p><i>Gs</i> καὶ νουνεχὲς αὐτοῦ ἡβούλει μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸ ἄπορον 5 γραμμάτων ἀλλὰ παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν ἕτερον διδάσκαλον.</p>	<p><i>Ga</i> παιδίου καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τὴν νεότητά ὡς ἀκμάζει, πάλιν ἐβουλεύσατο μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἄπειρον γραμματῶν, καὶ ἀπαγαγὼν αὐτὸν παρέδωκεν ἑτέρῳ διδασκάλῳ. εἶπε δὲ ὁ διδάσκαλος τῷ Ἰωσήφ· ποῖα θέλεις γράμματα διδάξω αὐτόν; εἶπε δὲ Ἰωσήφ· πρῶτον 10 τὰ ἑλληνικά, ἔπειτα τὰ ἐβραϊκά. ἦδει γὰρ ὁ διδάσκαλος τὴν πεῖραν τοῦ παιδίου, καὶ ἐφοβέτο αὐτόν. ὅμως γράψας τὸν ἀλφάβητον ἐπεστοιχείωσεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πολλὴν 15 ὥραν. καὶ οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς οὐδὲν λέγων.</p>
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*H*4 αὐτῷ *cod.* || ἀπορῶν *cod.* || 12 αὐτῷ *cod.**WVa Sl*

2 παιδίου *WV B Thilo & c.*: παιδὸς *DM* || 2/3 *alt.*
τὴν—ἀκμάζει: *cleveness Sl* || 2 ἡλικιότητά *α* ||
2/3 καὶ τὴν νεότητά: καὶ τὴν νεότην *V, deest in α*
|| 3 ὡς: ὅτι *α* || 3/4 πάλιν ἐβουλεύσατο:
ἡβουλήθη *π. V, π. -σαντο M* || 4 μὴ: *deest in V* ||
αὐτόν: αὐτὸ *α, deest in V* || ἄπειρον: *add. τῶν α*
|| 5 γραμμάτων: *alphabet Sl* || ἀπήγαγεν *V* ||
αὐτόν *V*: αὐτὸ *BM Thilo & c.*, αὐτὸς *D*, αὐτῷ *W*,
add. καὶ V || 6 παρέδωκεν *BD* || 7–9 ποῖα—
Ἰωσήφ: *deest in α* || 8 γράμματα θέλεις *V* ||
γράμματα: *alphabet Sl* || 9 πρῶτον: *add.*
παιδεύσω αὐτὸ *α* || 10 *alt.* τὰ: *deest in M* || ἦδει
Tisch Santos Sch: εἶδη *W*, ἶδει *α*, οἶδε *Thilo*, ἦδει
Bon || 10–12 ἦδει—αὐτόν: *deest in V* || 11 πεῖραν:
disposition Sl || 12 παιδίου *W BM Thilo & c.*:
παιδὸς *D* || ἐφοβήθη αὐτό *α* || ὅμως: ὅπως *B*,
καὶ *V* || 13 τὸν *Vα*: τὴν *W* || 14 ἐπεστοιχείωσεν:
ἐπέτυχεν *V*, ἐπετήχευεν *α*, ἐπετήθευεν *Thilo & c.*,
ἐδιάβαζε *W*, *instructed Sl* || αὐτόν *V*: αὐτὸ *α*,
τοῦτον *W*, *add. and said: A. Jesus answered: A,*
and became silent. The teacher recited for him the
other letters Sl || 15 ὥραν *Vα*: ὥρα *W* || αὐτῷ *α*
αὐτόν *W*, *deest in V* || 16 ὁ—λέγων: *deest in Vα*.

Gc

νοῦν ἔχει καὶ ἡλικίαν

αὐξάνει,

ἡβουλήθη δοῦναι αὐτὸν ἵνα μάθῃ

γράμματα. καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτὸν εἰς

5

ἕτερον διδάσκαλον ὅπως αὐτὸν διδάξῃ.

καὶ λέγει ὁ διδάσκαλος τῷ Ἰωσήφ·

ποῖα γράμματα θέλεις διδάξω αὐτὸν

πρῶτον; λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰωσήφ· πρῶτον

τὰ ἑλληνικά, ἔπειτα ἑβραϊκά. ἔχων

10

δὲ πείραν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὁ καθηγητῆς

ἐφοβεῖτο αὐτόν. ὅμως

γράψας αὐτῷ [f. 66^v] τὸν ἀλφάβητον

ἐπεστοιχείωσεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πολλὰς

ᾠρας. <ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐσιώπα μηδὲν

15

ἀποκρινόμενος.>

AT Lt3 αὐξάνει Del: -ων AT || 4 ἐβούλετο T || 5 δίδωσιν
αὐτόν: δίδουσιν τὸν Ἰησοῦν T || 6 αὐτῷ T ||διδάξῃ Del: -ει AT || καὶ: *deest in T* || 7διδάσκαλος: νομικός T || 7-9 ποῖα—Ἰωσήφ [*15**cod.*] *add. marg. A* || 9 *pr.* πρῶτον: *deest in Lt* ||λέγει—Ἰωσήφ: *deest in T* || *alt.* πρῶτον: *deest in A*|| 10 ἑλληνικά: *gentilicias Lt* || ἔπειτα T: εἴτα *super*I. A || 10-12 ἔχων—αὐτόν: *sciebat autem doctor**illum esse optimae intelligentiae et libenter**suscipiebat eum Lt* || 11 ὁ καθηγητῆς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ T

|| 13 αὐτῷ T Del: αὐτόν A || τὸν ἀλφάβητον:

primum versiculum quod est a et b Lt || 14

ἐπεστοιχείωσεν: ἐπεστήχασεν A, ἤρξατο

ἐπιστοιχειοῦν T, ἐπεστοίχασεν Del, *docebat Lt* ||

14 πολλῆς T || 15/16 ὁ—ἀποκρινόμενος T Lt:

deest in A.

Gs

2 Τὸ δὲ παιδίον λέγει·

- σύ μοι πρώτον εἰπὲ τί ἐστὶν τὸ βῆτα
 5 καὶ γὰρ σὺ ἐρῶ τί ἐστὶν τὸ ἄλφα.
 πικρανθεὶς δὲ ὁ καθηγητὴς ἔκρουσεν
 αὐτό. καὶ
 κατηράσατο
 αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ
 10 ἔπεσεν ὁ καθηγητὴς καὶ ἀπέθανεν.

- 3 Καὶ τὸ παιδίον
 ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς
 γονεῖς αὐτοῦ. καὶ Ἰωσήφ καλέσας τὴν
 μητέρα αὐτοῦ παρήγγειλε αὐτῇ· μὴ
 5 ἀπολύσῃ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας
 ἵνα μὴ ἀποθνήσκωσιν οἱ

Ga

2 Εἶπε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς·

εἰ ὄντως διδάσκαλος
 [f. 203^γ] εἰ, καὶ οἶδας ὅλως καλῶς τὰ
 γράμματα, εἰπὲ τοῦ Α τὴν δύναμιν,
 καὶ γὰρ σοὶ ἐρῶ τοῦ βῆτα.
 πικρανθεὶς δὲ ὁ διδάσκαλος ἔκρουσεν
 αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν. τὸ δὲ παιδίον
 ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἠγανάκτησε καὶ κατηράσατο
 αὐτὸν καὶ εὐθέως ἐλιποθύμησεν καὶ
 ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ στόματος.

3 Ἐξεπήδησεν δὲ τὸ παιδίον καὶ
 ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ.
 Ἰωσήφ δὲ ἐλυπήθη, καὶ
 παρήγγειλεν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ
 ὅπως ἔξω τῆς θύρας μὴ ἀπολύσῃ
 αὐτόν, ὅτι ἀποθνήσκουσιν οἱ

XIII, 2, 4/5 Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.20.1, *Ep. Apos.* 4; cf.
Acts Thom. 79.

XIV, 2, 4/5 Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.20.1, *Ep. Apos.* 4; cf.
Acts Thom. 79.

H

2, 7 αὐτῷ *cod.*.3, 4 παρέγγειλεν *cod.* || 5 ἀπολύει *cod.*.

WVaSl

2, 1 εἶπε—Ἰησοῦς *α Sl*: εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς τὸν
 διδάσκαλον *V*, ἀλλὰ τι ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἔφατο *W* || 3 εἰ
 καὶ: *deest in V* || 2 ὄντως *α*: ὄντος *W*, *deest in Sl* ||
 3 καὶ: *add.* εἰ *BM* || οἶδας *Vα* εἰδυῖας *W* || ὅλως:
deest in α || καλὰ *V* || 4 γράμματα: *alphabet Sl* ||
 εἰπὲ: *add.* μοι *α*, ἡμῖν *V*, εἶπε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς
 εἰ ὄντως εἰπέ μοι *M homoeoteleuton* || ἄλφα *Vα* ||
 5 τοῦ: τὴν τοῦ *BM Thilo & c.*, τὴν *D*, περὶ τοῦ *V*
 || βῆτα: *the letters in answer Sl* || 7 αὐτόν: αὐτοῦ *α*
 || εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν: *deest in V* || 8 ὁ Ἰησοῦς: *deest*
in Vα || ἠγανάκτησε καὶ: πονέσας *α Tisch Sch*,
 πονέσαν *Thilo Santos Bon* || ἐκατηράσατο *V* || 9
 ἐλιποθύμησεν: πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν
 ὠλιγοψύχησεν *V Sl* || 10 ἐπὶ στόματος: χαμαὶ
 ἐπὶ πρόσωπον *α*, *deest in Sl*.

3, 1/2 ἐξεπήδησεν—ἀπῆλθεν: τὸ δὲ παιδίον
 ἀπῆλθεν *V*, ἀπεστράφη δὲ τὸ παιδίον *α* || 2
 αὐτοῦ: Ἰωσήφ *α* || 5 τῆς θύρας: *deest in Sl* ||
 ἀπολύσεις *α* || 6 ὅτι: διότι *α* || ἀποθνήσκουσιν
DM, suffers *Sl*.

Gc

2 Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπε πρὸς
τὸν καθηγητήν· εἰ ὄντως διδάσκαλος
εἶ καὶ οἶδας καλῶς τὰ
γράμματα, εἰπέ μοι τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ
ἄλφα· καγὼ δέ σοι λέγω τὸ βῆτα. 5
ὀργισθεὶς δὲ ὁ διδάσκαλος ἔτυψεν
αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς
ἀγανακτήσας κατηράσατο
αὐτὸν καὶ εὐθέως
ἔπεσεν ὁ διδάσκαλος ὀλιγωρήσας. 10
3 Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς
ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ.
ὁ δὲ Ἰωσήφ
παρήγγειλε τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ
ἵνα μὴ ἀφῇ αὐτὸν ἔξωθεν τῆς οἰκίας 5
ἐξέρχεσθαι ἵνα μὴ καταρᾶται τοῖς

XIV, 2, 4/5 Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.20.1, *Ep. Apos.* 4; cf.
Acts Thom. 79.

AT Lr

2, 1 ὁ—εἶπε: εἶπεν δὲ T || ἀποκριθεὶς A: *deest in T*
Lr || 2 εἶ T: ἦς A || 3 καλῶς T: -ών A, *deest in Lr* || 5
δὲ: *deest in T* || συ T || λέγω: *add. fortitudinem de*
Lr || 7 αὐτὸν: τὸν Ἰησοῦν T || 8 κατηράσατο T:
ἐκατηράσατο A || 10 ἔπεσεν—ὀλιγωρήσας:
ὀλιγωρήσας ἔπεσεν T, *subito cecidit et mortuus*
est Lr.
3, 2 αὐτοῦ Del || 3 ὁ δὲ Ἰωσήφ: Ἰωσήφ δὲ T || 4
παρήγγειλε: *add. Mariam Lr* || 5 ἀφῇ—οἰκίας:
ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας αὐτῶν T || ἔξωθεν: *add. de atrio*
Lr || 6/7 ἵνα—ἀνθρώποις: *deest in T Lr*.

Gs

παροργίζοντες αὐτόν.

- XIV 1** Καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας τινὰς πάλιν ἕτερος καθηγητὴς εἶπεν τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἰωσήφ· δεῦρο, ἀδελφέ, δός μοι αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ
- 5 παιδευτήριον ἵνα μετὰ κολακείας δυνήσωμαι αὐτὸ διδάξαι γράμματα.

- ὁ δὲ Ἰωσήφ εἶπεν
- 10 αὐτῷ· εἰ θαρρεῖς, ἀδελφέ, ἄγαγε αὐτὸ μετὰ σωτηρίας. καὶ ὁ διδάσκαλος λαβόμενος τὸ παιδίον ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς ἀπήγαγεν μετὰ φόβου καὶ ἀγῶνος
- 15 πολλοῦ. τὸ δὲ παιδίον ἡδέως ἐπορεύετο.

Ga

παροργίζοντες αὐτόν.

- XV 1** Μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τινὰ ἕτερος πάλιν καθηγητὴς, γνήσιος φίλος ὦν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἄγαγέ μοι αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ παιδευτήριον. ἴσως ἂν δυνηθῶ ἐγὼ μετὰ κολακείας διδάξαι αὐτὸν τὰ γράμματα. πρέπει γὰρ τὸ παιδίον, φρόνιμον ὃν τε καὶ νοῦν ἔχον, εἰδέναι γράμματα. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ἰωσήφ· εἰ θαρρεῖς, ἀδελφέ, ἄπαγε αὐτὸν μετὰ σε. καὶ παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀπήγαγεν μετὰ φόβου καὶ ἀγῶνος πολλοῦ. τὸ δὲ παιδίον ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἡδέως ἐπορεύετο.

H

XIV, 1, 4 αὐτῷ *cod.* || **6** αὐτῷ *cod.* || **11** αὐτῷ *cod.*

WVαSI

XV, 1, 1 μετὰ—τινὰ: a year later *SI* || τινὰ: *add.* καὶ *V* || 2/3 γνήσιος—Ἰωσήφ: nearby *SI* || 2 γνήσιος φίλος α: φ. γ. *V*, γνήσιος *W* || ὦν Tisch & c.: ἦν α, *deest in V* || 3 αὐτῷ: το Joseph *SI* || 4 ἀγάγει *DB^{pc}* || αὐτὸ: αὐτῷ *V*, τὸ παιδίον α || 5 παιδευτήριον: *add. for instruction SI* || ἴσως ἂν *Vα*: ὅσαν *W* || 6 κολακείας *Vα Tisch & c.* || 7 διδάξαι *V^{pc} Tisch & c.*: -ω *Wα*, διδάξ- *V^{ac}* || αὐτὸ α || γράμματα: alphabet *SI* || 7–9 τρέπει—γράμματα: τὸ δὲ παιδίον φρόνιμον ἦν ἔχει εἰδέναι γράμματα *V*, for the boy is excellent and wise and he has the maturity to be able to read *SI*, *deest in α* || 9 καὶ εἶπεν: ε. δὲ *V* || 10 αὐτῷ: *deest in Vα, add.* ὁ *V* || εἰ: εἰς *B* || θαρρεῖς: have hope *SI* || 11 ἄπαγε: ἔπαρον α || 12 σε: σεαυτοῦ α, caution awe and effort *SI* || 12–16 καὶ—ἐπορεύετο: *deest in SI* || 13 παραλαβὼν: λαβὼν α || αὐτόν: αὐτὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ α || 14 ἀπήγαγεν: *deest in α* || ἀγῶνος *V Tisch & c.*: ἀγῶνου *Wα* || 15 ὁ Ἰησοῦς: ὁ Ἰωσήφ *W^{pc}*, *deest in Vα SI* || 16 ἐπορεύθη *V*.

Gc

ἀνθρώποις.

XV 1 Μεθ' ἡμέρας δέ τινας ἕτερος
 διδάσκαλος φίλος ὦν
 τοῦ Ἰωσήφ λέγει αὐτῷ·
 παράδος μοι αὐτόν, ἀδελφέ,
 καὶ γὰρ μετὰ
 πολλῆς παρακλήσεως
 διδάξω αὐτόν τὰ γράμματα. <καὶ γὰρ
 νοῦν ἔχει φρόνιμον καὶ πρέπον ἐστὶν
 εἶδέναι αὐτόν μαθεῖν γράμματα.> λέγει
 αὐτῷ Ἰωσήφ· εἰ γὰρ θαρρεῖς, ἀδελφέ,
 παραλαβε αὐτόν καὶ δίδαξον αὐτόν
 μετὰ πολλῆς χαρᾶς.
 <παρέλαβεν δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὁ
 καθηγητὴς καὶ ἀπήγαγεν μετὰ φόβου
 καὶ τρόμου πολλοῦ.>

5

10

15

AT Lt

XV = Lt XIII || 1, 1 τινας: πολλὰς T || 3 αὐτῷ T

Lt: αὐτόν A || 4 ἀδελφέ: *deest in Lt* || 6παρακλήσεως: κυβέρνησεως T, *suavitate Lt* || 7

διδάξω αὐτόν τὰ: ἔχω αὐτοῦ διδάξαι T || 7-9

καὶ—γράμματα T: *deest in A Lt* || 10 εἰ γὰρ: *deest**in T* || 11 παραλαβὼν T || αὐτόν καὶ: *deest in T* ||12 πολλῆς: *deest in T* || 13-15 παρέλαβεν—πολλοῦ T: *cum accepisset eum doctor, ibat cum**timore et magna constantia et habebat eum cum**exultatione Lt, deest in A.*

Gs

- 2 Καὶ εἰσελθὼν
 ἐν τῷ διδασκαλείῳ, εὗρεν βιβλίον ἐν
 τῷ ἀναλογίῳ κείμενον, καὶ λαβὼν
 αὐτὸ οὐκ ἀνεγίνωσκεν τὰ
 5 γεγράμμενα διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὰ ἐκ
 [f. 71'] νόμου Θεοῦ ἀλλὰ ἀνοίξας τὸ
 στόμα αὐτοῦ ἐπεφθέγγετο
 ῥήματα φοβερά
 ὥστε τὸν
 10 καθηγητὴν ἄντικρυς καθιζόμενον
 ἡδέως πάντα ἠκούει αὐτῷ καὶ
 παρεκάλει αὐτὸ ἵνα πλείονα εἴπῃ,
 τὸ δὲ παρεστῶτα ὄχλον ἐκπληττέσθαι
 ἐν τοῖς ὁσίοις ῥήμασιν
 15 αὐτοῦ.

Ga

- 2 Καὶ εἰσελθὼν θράσυνος
 εἰς τὸν διδασκαλεῖον, εὗρεν βιβλίον
 κείμενον ἐν τῷ ἀναλογίῳ, καὶ λαβὼν
 αὐτὸ οὐκ ἀνεγίνωσκε τὰ
 γεγράμμενα ἐν αὐτῷ,
 ἀλλὰ ἀνοίξας τὸ
 στόμα αὐτοῦ ἐφθέγγετο πνεύματι
 ἀγίῳ, καὶ ἐδίδασκεν τὸν νόμον. τοὺς
 παρόντας καὶ ἀκούοντες αὐτοῦ...
 ὄχλος δὲ πολὺς συνελθόντες ἐθαύμαζον
 ἐν τῇ ὡραιότητι τῆς διδασκαλίας
 αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ ἐτοιμασίᾳ τῶν λόγων

2 cf. Luke 4:16–22.

2 cf. Luke 4:16–22.

H

2, 2 διδασκαλεῖον *cod.* || 3 ἀναλογίον *cod.* || 4
 αὐτῷ *cod.* || ἀπεγίνωσκεν *cod.* || 7 ἐπεφθέγγετο
cod. || 10 καθεζόμενον *cod.* || 11 πάντα ἠκούει:
 πάνους κούη *cod.* || 12 αὐτῷ *cod.* || εἶπει *cod.*

WVα Sl

2, 1 θράσυνος εἰς: θρασυνης α, θρασύν εἰς Tisch
 & c., *deest in V* || 2 τὸ Vα || διδασκαλεῖον:
 διδάσκαλον W || 3 ἐν τῷ ἀναλογίῳ: at the end of
 the cell Sl || ἀναλογίον M || λαβὼν: opening Sl || 4
 αὐτῷ V || οὐκ: *deest in V* || 5 γεγράμμενα:
 γράμματα τὰ α || 6/7 ἀλλὰ—ἐφθέγγετο: *deest in*
V || 7 ἐφθέγγετο: ἐλάλει α, *add.* ἐν V || 8–17 καὶ—
 φθεγγέται: *deest in V* || 9/10 τοὺς—αὐτοῦ: and
 those present listened to him and asked him to read
 further Sl, τοὺς περιεστῶτας καὶ ἀκούοντες
 αὐτοῦ [αὐτῷ DM] α Bon Santos, τοὺς
 περιεστῶτας Thilo Tisch Sch || 13 ὄχλος—
 συνελθόντες: *deest in B* || ὄχλος δὲ α ἦν δὲ
 ὄχλος W || συνελθόντες α *deest in W Sl, add.*
 παριστήκεισαν [παρεστήκεισαν Thilo Bon]
 ἀκούοντες αὐτοῦ [αὐτῷ D] καὶ DM ||
 ἐθαύμαζον: they listened to Jesus and admired Sl ||
 14/15 ὡραιότητι—αὐτοῦ: his beauty his teaching
 and his eloquence Sl.

Gc

2 Ἀπελθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς
 εἰς τὸ διδασκαλεῖον, εὑρε βιβλίον
 κείμενον καὶ λαβὼν
 αὐτὸ ἀνοίξας οὐκ ἀνεγίνωσκε τὰ ἐν τῷ
 βιβλίῳ γεγραμμένα, 5
 ἀλλὰ ἀνοίξας τὸ
 στόμα αὐτοῦ ἔλεγεν ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ
 καὶ ἐδίδασκε τὸν νόμον αὐτοῦ τοὺς
 παρόντας καὶ ἀκούοντας, ὥστε καὶ ὁ
 καθηγητὴς πλησίον αὐτοῦ καθίσας 10
 πάνυ ἡδέως αὐτοῦ [f. 67'] ἤκουσεν,
 παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν ἵνα πλείονα εἴπη.
 ὄχλος δὲ πολὺς συνεισῆλθε καὶ
 ἤκροῶντο πάντες καὶ ἐθαύμαζον ἐπὶ τῇ
 ἀγίᾳ αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίᾳ καὶ τοῦ λόγου 15

 2 cf. Luke 4:16–22.

AT Lt

2, 1 ἀπελθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς: ὁ δὲ [add. ὁ
 cod.] Ἰησοῦς εἰσῆλθεν [add. προθύμως T] T Lt ||
 2 διδασκαλεῖον: παιδευτήριον T, domum doctoris
 Lt || εὑρε: add. δὲ T || 2–4 βιβλίον—ἀνοίξας T Lt:
 βιβλίον κειμένην καὶ ἀνοίξας αὐτήν A || 4 αὐτῷ
 T || 4/5 τῷ βιβλίῳ T: τῇ βίβλῳ A || 7 αὐτοῦ Del ||
 8 τὸν νόμον αὐτοῦ: deest in T || αὐτοῦ Del || 8/9
 τοὺς—ἀκούοντας: omnes vero qui ibidem stabant
 diligenter eum audiebant Lt || 9/10 ἀκούοντας—
 καθίσας: ἀκούων αὐτὸν ὁ καθηγητὴς πλησίον
 αὐτοῦ καθισθεὶς T || 9 ὥστε: deest in Lt || 11 πάνυ
 ἡδέως: πάντα δὲ T || ἤκουσεν Del: ἤκουεν codd. ||
 12 εἶπη T Del: εἰπεῖν A, add. ὁ T || 13 πολὺς Del:
 πολλῆς A, deest in T || συνεισῆλθε: πλησίος
 [πλήστος cod.] T || καὶ: deest in T || 14 ἤκροῶντο
 Del: ἤκροῦντο A, ἤκρόατο T, audiebant Lt, add.
 πάνυ T || 14/15 πάντες—λόγου: θαυμάζοντες
 εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν διδασκαλίαν καὶ τὸν λόγον T,
 omnem sanctam doctrinam quam docebat Lt || 15/16
 τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ: dilectos sermones qui exiebant
 de ore eius Lt.

Gs

- 3 Ὁ δὲ Ἰωσήφ ταχέως
ἔδραμεν εἰς τὸ διδασκαλεῖον
ὑπονόησας μηκέτι οὗτος ὁ καθηγητὴς
ἄπειρος ἐστὶν καὶ πάθη. εἶπεν δὲ ὁ
5 καθηγητὴς τῷ Ἰωσήφ· ἵνα οἶδας,
ἀδελφέ, ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν τὸ παιδίον σου
παρέλαβον μαθητὴν, αὐτὸ
πολλῆς χάριτος καὶ σοφίας μεστόν
ἐστίν. τοιγαροῦν, ἀδελφέ,
10 ἀπάγε αὐτόν] μετὰ σωτηρίας καὶ εἰς
[τόν] οἶκόν σου.

4 Ὁ δὲ

εἶπεν τῷ καθηγητῇ·
ἐπειδὴ ὀρθῶς ἐλάλησας καὶ ὀρθῶς

Ga

αὐτοῦ, ὅτι νήπιον ὄν τοιαῦτα
φθέγγεται.

- 3 Ἀκούσας δὲ Ἰωσήφ ἐφοβήθη, καὶ
ἔδραμεν εἰς τὸ διδασκαλεῖον,
πτοησάμενος μὴ οὗτος ὁ καθηγητὴς
ἐστὶν ἄπειρος. εἶπε δὲ ὁ
καθηγητὴς τῷ Ἰωσήφ· ἵνα εἰδῆς,
ἀδελφέ, ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν τὸ παιδίον
παρέλαβον ὡς μαθητὴν, αὐτὸς δὲ
πολλῆς χάριτος καὶ σοφίας μεστόν
ἐστίν. τοιγαροῦν ἀξιῶ σε, ἀδελφέ,
ἄρον αὐτόν εἰς
τὸν οἶκόν σου.

- 4 Ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν τὸ παιδίον ταῦτα
αὐτοῦ εἰρηκότος πρὸς τὸν Ἰωσήφ,
εὐθέως προσεγέλασεν αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπε·
ἐπειδὴ ὀρθῶς ἔκρινας καὶ ὀρθῶς

H

3, 4 πάθει *cod.* || 6 παιδίον σου: παιδίον ον συ
cod. || 7 αὐτῷ *cod.* || 10 α**** *cod.* || 11 τόν: ***
cod.

WVαSl

16 ὄν: ὦν *D*, *deest in BM Sl.*

3, 1 δὲ: *add.* ὁ *V* || 2-4 εἰς—ἐστίν: *deest in B* || 2 τὸ
διδασκαλεῖον: τὸν διδάσκαλον *V*, *add.* who, he
said, understands the instruction? *Sl* || 3/4
πτοησάμενος—ἄπειρος: or that teacher will be
experienced *Sl*, *deest in V* || 3 πτοησάμενος:
λογισάμενος *α* || οὗτος *α* οὕτως *W* || 4 ἔσται
ἀνάπηρες *coni.* Tisch Santos Bon || 5 εἰδῆς *W*
Tisch & c.: ἴδης *Vα* Thilo || 6 ὅτι *Vα* *deest in W Sl*
|| 6/7 παρέλαβον τὸ παιδίον *α* || 6 τὸ παιδίον:
deest in V || 7 παρέλαβον: *add.* αὐτόν *V* || αὐτὸ *α*
|| 8 καὶ σοφίας: grace that is from God *Sl* || μεστόν
α -ὅς *WV* || 9 τοιγαροῦν: now *Sl*, καὶ λοιπὸν *α* ||
ἀξιῶ σε: *deest in Sl* || 10 αὐτόν: αὐτὸ *D*, *add.* as it
is proper and keep him *Sl*.

4, 1/2 ταῦτα—Ἰωσήφ: ταῦτα τοῦ καθηγητοῦ
εἰρηκότος ἐμείδισεν *V*, the teacher speak so to
his father *Sl*, ταῦτα *α* || 3 εὐθέως—αὐτῷ: *deest in*
V || αὐτῷ *α* αὐτόν *W*, *deest in Sl* || 4 ἔκρινας:
ἐλάλησας *α*, ὡμολόγησας *V*, you have given
opinion *Sl*.

Gc

αὐτοῦ ὅτι νήπιος ὢν τοιαῦτα
φθέγγεται.

3 Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ἰωσήφ
ἔδραμεν εἰς τὸ διδασκαλεῖον

καὶ λέγει

αὐτῷ ὁ καθηγητής· ἵνα εἰδῇς,
ἀδελφέ, ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν παρέλαβον τὸ
παιδίον σου εἰς μαθητὴν, αὐτὸς δὲ
πολλῆς χάριτος καὶ σοφίας ἐστὶ
μεστός.

5

λαβὲ αὐτὸν εἰς
τὸν οἶκόν σου, ἀδελφέ, μετὰ χαρᾶς. τὸ
γὰρ χάρισμα ὃ ἔχει ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἐστίν.

10

4 Ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοῦ
καθηγητοῦ τοιαῦτα λέγοντος
μειδιᾶσας εἶπεν·
ἐπειδὴ ἀληθῶς

AT Lt

16 ὅτι: qui Lt || ὢν: *deest in T* || 17 φθέγγεται T

Del: -εσθαι A.

3, 1 Ἰωσήφ: *add. timuit Lt* || 2 εἰς τὸ

διδασκαλεῖον: *deest in Lt, add. ubi erat Iesus Lt* || 4

καί: *deest in T* || 5 αὐτῷ T: αὐτοῦ A || 6 μὲν T:

deest in A || 6/7 παρέλαβον—σου: τὸ παιδίον

παρέλαβον T || 6 ἐπαρέλαβον Del || 7 εἰς

μαθητὴν: εἰς μαθήσιαν T, *ad docendum vel ad*

disciplinandum Lt || 8 πολλῆς: πολλῶς T, *post καὶ*

pos. A || χάριτος: *gravitate Lt* || ἐστὶ: ἦν T || 9

μεστός: *add. ecce nunc Lt* || 11 ἀδελφέ T Lt: *deest*

in A || 12 χάρισμα: *gravitate Lt*.

4, 2 τοιαῦτα λέγοντος T Lt: τούτους λόγους

ὄντως [τούτους λόγους λέγοντος *coni. Del*] A ||

3 μειδιᾶσας: μηδιλιάσας τῷ πνεύμῳ T, *hilaris*

factus est Lt || 4 ἐπειδὴ: *ecce nunc Lt, deest in T* ||

ἀληθῶς: ὀρθῶς T.

Gs

- 5 ἔμαρτύρησας, διά σε καὶ
ὁ πληγείς σωθήσεται. καὶ
παραχρῆμα ἐσώθη κακεῖνος ὁ
καθηγητής. ὁ δὲ λαβόμενος
τὸ παιδίον ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον
10 αὐτοῦ.

XV 1 Ὁ δὲ Ἰάκωβος ἀπήγαγεν εἰς
τὴν ἄπην τοῦ δῆσαι φρύγανα ἵνα ἄρτοι
γίνωνται.
ἀπήγεν καὶ
5 ὁ Ἰησοῦς μετ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ συλλεγόντων
αὐτῶν τὰ φρύγανα ἔχιδνα παλαμναῖα
ἔδακεν τὸν Ἰάκωβον εἰς τὴν χεῖραν
αὐτοῦ.

2 Κατατεινομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ
ἀπολλυμένου προσέδραμεν τὸ
παιδίον Ἰάκωβος πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ

Ga

- ἔμαρτύρησας [f. 203^v], διά σε κακεῖνος
ὁ πληγωθεὶς σωθήσεται. καὶ
παραχρῆμα ἰάθη ὁ ἕτερος
καθηγητής. παρέλαβε δὲ Ἰωσήφ
τὸ παιδίον καὶ ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον
αὐτοῦ.

XVI 1 Ἐπεμψε δὲ Ἰωσήφ τὸν υἱὸν
αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἰάκωβον τοῦ δῆσαι
ξύλα καὶ ἐνέγκαι εἰς τὸν οἶκον
αὐτοῦ. ἠκολούθει καὶ τὸ παιδίον
ὁ Ἰησοῦς αὐτῷ. <καὶ συλλέγοντος
τοῦ Ἰακώβου τὰ φρύγανα ἔχιδνα
ἔδακε> εἰς χειρός Ἰακώβου.

2 <Καὶ κατατειναμένου αὐτοῦ καὶ
ἀπολλυμένου προσήγγησεν
ὁ Ἰησοῦς> καὶ

XV cf. *Hist. Jos. Carp.* 16; Acts 28:3–6.

H

5 διά σε: δι' ἐσε *cod.* || 6 πληγής *cod.*
XV, 1, 2 τὴν ἄπην: il forno (the forest) Voicu,
"Verso."
2, 2 προσέδραμεν *cod.*

XVI cf. *Hist. Jos. Carp.* 16; Acts 28:3–6.

WVa SI

6 σωθήσεται: ἰαθήσεται *α SI* || 7 παραχρῆμα:
εὐθέως *D*, παραυτὰ *BM Thilo & c.*, *add.* that very
hour *SI* || ἰάθη: *post* καθηγητής (8) *pos. D* ||
ἕτερος: *deest in V* || 8–10 παρέλαβε—αὐτοῦ:
deest in SI || 9 ἀπήγαγεν: ἀπῆλθεν *α*.
XVI, 1, 1 *ante* ἔπεμψε: *add.* afterwards *SI* || ἔπεψεν
W || δὲ *Vα*: *deest in W* || Ἰωσήφ *Vα SI*: *deest in W* ||
2 τὸν Ἰάκωβον: *deest in V* || δῆσαι: συλλέξαι *V*,
to gather *SI* || 3 ξύλα: ξύτα *B*, φρύγανα *V* ||
ἐνέγκαι: φέρειν *DM*, φέρει *B* || 4 καὶ: δὲ καὶ *α*: δὲ
V || τὸ παιδίον: τοῦτον *V* || 5 ὁ Ἰησοῦς: *deest in*
α, *add.* Tisch Sch || αὐτῷ *α SI*: καὶ ἀπῆλθεν μετὰ
τοῦ Ἰάκωβ *V* || 5–7 καὶ—[*add.* ἐκπήδησας *V*]
ἔδακε *Vα SI*: ἐπεὶ ἔχῃς κρεμασθεῖσα *W* || 6 Ἰάκωβ
V || 7 εἰς—Ἰακώβου *W*: τὴν χεῖραν Ἰακώβου *α*,
τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ *V*.
2, 1–3 *pr.* καὶ—Ἰησοῦς *Vα SI*: καὶ δειχθεὶς κα]
W.

Gc

ἐμαρτύρησας, διά σε κάκεϊνος
 σωθήσεται, ὅς χθές πέπονθε. καὶ
 παραχρήμα ἰάθη ὁ ἄλλος
 καθηγητής. παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰωσήφ
 τὸ παιδίον ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον
 αὐτοῦ.

5

10

XVI 1 Καὶ ἔπεμψεν Ἰωσήφ τὸν
 Ἰάκωβον συλλέξαι
 φρύγανα τοῦ φούρνου.
 ἡκολούθει δὲ καὶ
 ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὸν Ἰάκωβον. καὶ
 συλλεγόντων τὰ φρύγανα, ἔχιδνα
 ἔδακε τὸν Ἰάκωβον.

5

2 Καὶ πεσὼν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἔμελλε
 τελευτᾶν ἐκ τοῦ πόνου τοῦ φαρμάκου.
 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς

XVI cf. *Hist. Jos. Carp.* 16; *Acts* 28:3–6.

AT Lt

5 διά σε *T*: δι' ἐσὲ *A* || κάκεϊνους *T* || **6**
 σωθήσεται: *resurgere Lt* || **6–8** ὅς—καθηγητής:
deest in T Lt || **6** ὅς *Del*: ὁ *A* || **7** ἄλλος *Del*:
 ἄλαλος *A* || **9** ἤγαγεν *A* || **10** αὐτοῦ *Del*.
XVI = *Lt XIV* || **1, 1** καὶ *T Lt*: μεθ' ἡμέρας δὲ
 τινὰς *A* || Ἰωσήφ: *deest in T* || **3** φρύγανα:
stipulam Lt || τοῦ φούρνου: *deest in Lt* || **4**
 ἡκολουθήσεν *T* || **6** συλλέγοντος *T Lt* || φρύγανα:
stipulum Lt || **6/7** ἔχιδνα—Ἰάκωβον:
 τοῦ Ἰακώβου ἔδακεν αὐτὸν ἔχιδνα *T* || **7**
 τὸν Ἰάκωβον: *eum Lt*.
2, 1 ἐν τῇ γῇ *T* || **1/2** ἔμελλε—φαρμάκου: *quasi*
mortuus per venenum Lt || **2** τελευτᾷ *T* || πόνου
 τοῦ: *deest in T* || τοῦ φάρμακου *T*: τοῦ -ος *A*,
deest in Lt || **3** Ἰησοῦς *T Lt*: εὐθέως *A*, *add.*
cumque talia vidisset Lt.

Gs

κατεφύσησεν τὸ δῆγμα καὶ παραχρήμα
5 ἰάθη τὸ δῆγμα. καὶ τὸ θηρίον
ἀπενεκρώθη καὶ
Ἰάκωβος ἑστάθη.

Ga

κατεφύσησε τὸ δῆγμα καὶ παραχρήμα
ἰάθη. καὶ τὸ θηρίον
διερράγη.

XVII 1

Ἐν τῇ γειτονίᾳ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ νοσῶν τι
νήπιον ἀπέθανεν, καὶ ἔκλαιεν ἡ μήτηρ
αὐτοῦ σφόδρα. ἤκουσεν δὲ ὁ
5 Ἰησοῦς ὅτι πένθος μέγα καὶ θόρυβος
γίνεται, ἔδραμεν σπουδαίως.
καὶ εὐρῶν τὸ παιδίον νεκρόν,
ἤψατο τοῦ στήθους αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγει
αὐτῷ· σοὶ λέγω, βρέφος, μὴ ἀποθάνῃς
10 ἀλλὰ ζήθι <καὶ ἔστω μετὰ τῆς μητρός
σου>. καὶ εὐθέως ἀνέστη καὶ
προσεγέλασε. εἶπε δὲ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ·

H

WVαSI

4 δῆγμα: *add.* ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁ μὲν *W* || 4/5 καὶ—ἰάθη
V: καὶ εὐθέως ἐπαύσατο ὁ πόνος *α*, ἐπαύθη τοῦ
πόνου *W*, then the poison weakened *SI* || 5 καὶ *Vα*
SI: ὁ δὲ ἤγουν *W* || 6 διερράγη: ἐρράγη *α*, died *SI*,
add. καὶ παραυτὰ ἔμεινεν [ἔμεινες *D*] ὁ
Ἰάκωβος ὑγιής *α*, *add.* τῷ δὲ θεῷ ἡμῶν εἰ ἡ
δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν *des. V*.

WαSI

XVII, 1, 2 ἔν: *add.* μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔν *α* || τοῦ
Ἰωσήφ: *deest in SI* || νοσοῦν *Thilo* || 2/3 νοσῶν τι
[τινὶ *M*] νήπιον *α*: another child *SI*, ἄνθρωπός
τις *W* || 5/6 ὅτι—γίνεται: the crying and wailing
SI || 5 πένθος *α*: πένθη *W* || 6 γίνεται: *add.* καὶ *α* ||
7 νεκρόν: lying on her lap *SI*, *add.* καὶ *α* || 8/9 λέγει
αὐτῷ: εἶπεν *α* || 9 σοὶ *W Tisch & c.*: σὺ *α Thilo*,
deest in SI || λέγω: -ων *B*, *deest in SI* || βρέφος *α*
SI: *deest in W* || 10 ζήθι: ζήθητι *V*, be alive *SI*,
ζῆσον *α* || 10/11 καὶ—σου *α SI*: *deest in W* || 10
ἔστω *Tisch*: ἔστο *D*, ἔσο *BM Thilo Santos Bon*
Sch, go *SI* || 11 εὐθέως: εὐθὺς *D*, εὐθεὶς *BM* ||
11/12 ἀνέστη καὶ προσεγέλασε: then the child
laughed and smiled at him *SI*, ἀναβλέψας
ἐγέλασεν *α* || 12 τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ: τῇ γυναικὶ *α*

Gc

ἐμφυσήσας τὴν πληγὴν. καὶ εὐθέως
 ἰάθη Ἰάκωβος. καὶ τὸ θηρίον
 ἀπεκτάνθη.

5

XVII 1 Ὀλίγων δὲ ἡμερῶν
 διελθουσῶν παιδίον τῆς γειτονίας
 ἀπέθανε καὶ ὠδύρετο ἡ μήτηρ
 αὐτοῦ σφοδρῶς. ἀκούσας δὲ [f. 67^v] ὁ
 Ἰησοῦς,
 ἦλθε
 καὶ στὰς ἐπάνω τοῦ παιδίου
 ἥψατο τοῦ στήθους αὐτοῦ εἰπών·
 σοὶ λέγω, βρέφος, μὴ ἀποθάνης
 ἀλλὰ ζήθητι καὶ ἔστω μετὰ τῆς μητρός
 σου. καὶ εὐθέως ἀνέβλεψε τὸ παιδίον.
 καὶ λέγει ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ·

5

10

AT Lt

4 ἐμφυσήσας: ἐφύσησεν εἰς T || καὶ εὐθέως T Lt:
deest in A || 5 ἰάθη: sanus factus est Lt, *add.*
 παραχρῆμα T || Ἰάκωβος: *deest in T* || 5/6 καὶ—
 ἀπεκτάνθη: τὸ δὲ θηρίον ἔψησεν T.
XVII, 1 =Lt XV, 1 || 1/2 ὀλίγων—διελθουσῶν:
 μετὰ δὲ τινὰς ἡμέρας T || 2 γειτονίας: *add.*
 ἀσθενήσας T || 3 ὠδύρετο *codd.* || 6 ἦλθε: ἀπῆλθεν
 T || 7 παιδὸς T || 8 ἥψατο: ὑπὸ T || εἶπεν T || 9 σοὶ:
 σὺ T || 10 ζήθητι T, *vive* Lt || καὶ—σου: *deest in Lt* ||
 ἔστω: ἔσο A Del, ἔση T || τῆς μητρός: τῶν
 γονέων T || 11 ἀνέβλεψε: surrexit Lt.

Ga

ἄρον τὸ τέκνον σου, <καὶ δὸς
γάλα> καὶ μνημόνευέ μου.

5

2 Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ ὄχλος ὁ παρεστὼς
ἐθαύμασεν καὶ εἶπον· ἀληθῶς
τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον ἢ θεὸς ἢ ἄγγελός
ἐστι, ὅτι πᾶς λόγος αὐτοῦ ἔργον
γίνεται. ἐξῆλθεν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς πάλιν καὶ
ἐπαιζεν μετὰ τῶν παιδῶν.

5

XVIII 1 Μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τινὰ
οἰκοδόμος γεναμένου
ἔπεσεν ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναβαθμᾶς
κάτω καὶ ἀπέθανεν. συνδρομῆς δὲ
γενομένης καὶ θορύβου μεγάλου,
ἴστατο τὸ παιδίον ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ
ἀπῆλθεν ἕως ἐκεῖ. ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν
ἄνθρωπον κείμενον νεκρὸν ἐπελάβετο
τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν· σοὶ λέγω,

XVIII, 1, 9/10 cf. Mark 5:41, Luke 7:14.

WaSl

13 ἄρον—σου: *deest in Sl* || τὸ τέκνον σου: αὐτὸ
α || 13/14 καὶ δὸς γάλα *α*: suckle him *Sl*, *deest in W*.

2, 1 ἰδὼν—παρεστὼς: καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ παρεστὼς
ὄχλος *α*, when the crowd saw this *Sl* || ἐνεστὼς
W^{ac} || 3 τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο *α* || θεὸς: *add. ἦν α* ||
ἄγγελός: *add. Θεοῦ α* || 4 ἐστι: *deest in α* || 5
γίνεται: ἐστὶν ἑτοιμον *α* || 5/6 ἐξῆλθεν—παιδῶν:
and he went to his house *Sl* || 5 ἐξῆλθεν δέ: καὶ
ἐξῆλθεν *α* || 5/6 πάλιν καὶ ἐπαιζεν: ἐκεῖθεν
παίζων *α* || 6 μετὰ: μετὰ καὶ *DM Tisch & c.*, καὶ
μετὰ *B Thilo* || τῶν: ἐτέρων *α*.

XVIII, 1, 1 μετὰ—τινὰ: a year later while a house
was being built *Sl* || 2 οἰκοδομῆς *α* || 2–4
γεναιμένου—ἀπέθανεν: a man fell down from the
height and died *Sl*, *deest in α* || 4 συνδρομῆς δέ:
deest in α || 6 τὸ παιδίον: *deest in α Sl* || 7 ἰδὼν δέ
τὸν: καὶ ἰδὼν *α* || 8 νεκρὸν κείμενον *D* ||
ἐπεβάλετο *B* || 9 σοὶ *α*: οὐ *W*.

Gc

ἄρον τὸ παιδίον σου καὶ δὸς αὐτὸ
μασθὸν καὶ μνημόνευέ μου.

2 Οἱ δὲ ὄχλοι ἰδόντες τὸ παράδοξον
θαῦμα εἶπον· ἀληθῶς
τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο ἢ θεὸς ἢ ἄγγελός
ἐστίν ὅτι πᾶς λόγος αὐτοῦ ἔργον
γίνεται. <ἐξελθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς
ἔπαιζεν μετὰ παιδία.>

5

XVIII 1 Ἄλλοτε πάλιν
οἰκοδόμος τις
πεσὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους
ἀπέθανεν.

5

ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς

λέγει τῷ τεθνηκότι· σοὶ λέγω,

XVIII, 1, 9/10 cf. Mark 5:41, Luke 7:14.

AT Li

13 αὐτῷ *codd.* || 14 μασθὸν *Del:* μασθῶ *T,*
μασθεῖν *A.*

AT

2, 2 θαῦμα: *deest in T* || ἀληθῶς: *add. ἐν T* || 4
ἐστίν: οἰκεῖ *T* || πᾶς: *add. ὁ T* || ἔργω *T* || 5/6
ἐξελθὼν—παιδία *T: deest in A.*

XVIII, 1, 1 ἄλλοτε πάλιν: *deest in T* || 2

οἰκοδόμος: *add. δὲ T* || τις: *add. ἐκεῖ T* || 3

τείχους: ὕψους *T* || 7 ἐλθὼν δὲ: καὶ ἐλθὼν *T* || 9
σοὶ: σὺ *T.*

Gs

10

XVI 1 Πάλιν σχίζοντος ξύλα ἐν ἴσῳ
 νεωτέρου τινός,
 καὶ ἔσχισεν τὴν βάσιν
 τοῦ [f. 71^v] ποδὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ
 5 ἔξαιμος γενόμενος ἀπέθνησεν.

2 Θορύβου γεναμένου
 ἔδραμεν ὁ
 Ἰησοῦς καὶ βιασάμενος διῆλθεν διὰ τοῦ
 ὄχλου καὶ κρατήσας
 5 τὸν πόδα τὸν πεπληγότα
 καὶ εὐθέως ἰάθη. καὶ εἶπεν τῷ
 νεανίσκῳ· ὕπαγε, σχίξε
 τὰ ξύλα σου.

Ga

ἄνθρωπε, ἀνάστα, ποίει τὸ ἔργον σου.
 καὶ εὐθέως ἀναστὰς προσεκύνησεν
 αὐτός.

X 1 Μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ξύλα σχίζων
 τις νεώτερος ἐν γειτονίᾳ τούτου
 ἔπεσεν ἢ ἀξίνη καὶ ἔσχισεν τὴν βάσιν
 τοῦ ποδὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτίκα
 ὀλιγοθύμησεν μικρὸν ἀπέθανεν.

2 Θορύβου δὲ γενομένου καὶ
 συνδρομῆς, ἔδραμεν καὶ τὸ παιδίον
 Ἰησοῦς. καὶ βιασάμενος διῆλθεν τὸν
 ὄχλον, καὶ ἐκράτησεν τοῦ νεανίσκου
 τὸν πεπληγότα πόδα,
 καὶ εὐθέως ἰάθη. εἶπε δὲ
 τῷ νεανίσκῳ· ἀνάστα νῦν, σχίξε τὰ
 ξύλα καὶ μνημόνευέ μου.

H

XVI, 1, 1 ἐν ἴσῳ: ἐνὶ συ *cod.*, ἐκαίσι *coni.* Voicu,
 "Verso."

Wα SI

11 εὐθέως: *deest in SI* || **12** αὐτόν α.

WVα SI

X, 1, 1 ὀλίγας: *add.* δὲ *V* || **1/2** ξύλα σχίζων τις: σ. τις ξ. *Vα* || **1** σχίσον *W^{ac}* || **2** νεώτερος—τούτου: ἐν τῇ γωνίᾳ νεώτερος α, *deest in V* || ἐν: *add.* τῇ α || τούτου: *add.* καὶ *B Thilo* || **3** ἔπεσεν—βάσιν: he badly cut *SI* || ἔσχισεν: διέσχισεν α || **5** αὐτίκα—ἀπέθανεν: ἐξ αἵματος γενόμενος ἀπέθνησεν α, ἀπέθανεν *V*, he lay in death *SI*. **2, 1/2** καὶ συνδρομῆς: *deest in V* || **2** καὶ τὸ παιδίον: *deest in V* || παιδίον: *add.* ὁ *V B* || **3** Ἰησοῦς: *add.* ἐκεῖ α || **4** καὶ—νεανίσκου: ἐκάθισεν πλησίον *V* || **5** τὸν—πόδα: τοῦ πεπληγότος *V* || **6** καὶ—ἰάθη: *deest in SI* || ἰάθη: *add.* ὁ παῖς ἐκείνος *V* || **7** τῷ νεανίσκῳ: τὸν [τὸ *B*] νεανίσκον *Vα*, *add.* I say to you young man *SI* || ἀναστὰς *V* || νῦν: *deest in V SI* || **7/8** σχίξε τὰ ξύλα: take your axe *SI* || **8** ξύλα: *add.* σου *V* || μνημόνευέ μου: *deest in V*.

Gc

Gb

ἄνθρωπε, ἀναστὰς ποίει τὸ ἔργον σου.
καὶ εὐθέως ἀνέστη καὶ προσεκύνησεν
αὐτόν.

10

X 1 Εἶτα μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας
νεώτερός τις ἐν τῇ γειτονίᾳ
ἔσχιζε ξύλα. καὶ ἔκοψε τὸν δεξιὸν αὐτοῦ
πόδα.

καὶ συνήχθη ὁ ὄχλος ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

2

Εἰσῆλθε δὲ καὶ ὁ ἰώμενος τὰς νόσους ὁ
κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός,
καὶ κρατήσας
τοῦ πληγωμένου ποδός,
παραχρῆμα ἰάθη, καὶ λέγει
αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ἀναστὰς, σχίσον τὰ
ξύλα καὶ μνημόνευέ μου.

IX 1 Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας σχίζων
τις τῶν γειτόνων
ξύλον ἀπέτεμε τὴν βάσιν
τοῦ ποδὸς αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ πελέκεος, καὶ
ἔξαιμος γεγωνὼς ἤμελλεν ἀποθνήσκειν. 5

2 Καὶ λαοῦ συνδεδραμηκότος πολλοῦ
συνῆλθεν καὶ
ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκεῖ.

(3) Καὶ ἀψάμενος
τοῦ πεπληγμένου ποδὸς τοῦ νεανίσκου, 5
καὶ εὐθέως ἰάσατο αὐτόν, καὶ φησιν
αὐτῷ· ἀνάστα, σχίσον τὰ
ξύλα σου. καὶ ἀναστὰς προσεκύνησεν
αὐτόν, εὐχαριστῶν καὶ σχίζων τὰ

AT

10 ἀνάστα T || σου: ὁ ἐποίεις T || 11 pr. καὶ T:
deest in A || 12 αὐτῷ T.

A Lt

X=Lt VIII || 1, 2 γειτονία Del: ipso vico Lt, γῆ
ρονία A || 3/4 τὸν—πόδα: pedem suum Lt || 3
αὐτοῦ Del.

AT Lt

2, 2/3 εἰσῆλθε—Χριστός: venit et Iesus cum illis
Lt || 2 pr. ὁ: om. Del || 7 Ἰησοῦς A Lt: κύριος Del ||
8 μνημονεβέ A || [μνημόνευέ T.

SC

IX, 1, 4 πέλεκος codd..

3, 7 αὐτῷ: αὐτῶν S, deest in C || σχίζων C.

Gs

10

3 Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ ὄχλοι ἐθαύμασαν
καὶ εἶπαν·
πολλὰς γὰρ ψυχὰς ἔσωσεν ἐκ
θανάτου καὶ ἔχει σῶσαι
5 πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ.

XVII 1 Ὦν[τος] δι[ε] τοῦ Ἰησοῦ
δωδε[καετοῦς] ἐπορεύοντο [οἱ] γονεῖς
αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἰς
τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ πάσχα.

5

ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπιστρέφειν
αὐτοὺς

Ga

ὁ δὲ ὄχλος ἰδὼν τὸ γεγονός
προσεκύνησαν τὸ παιδίον,
λέγοντες· ἀληθῶς τάχα ὁ Θεὸς ἐνοικεῖ
ἐν αὐτῷ.

XVIII 2 Οἱ δὲ ὄχλοι ἐκραύγασαν
λέγοντες· τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον οὐράνιον
ἐστίν. πολλὰς γὰρ ψυχὰς ἔσωσεν ἐκ
τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ ἔχει σῶσαι ἕως
πάσης τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ.

XIX 1 Ὦντος δὲ αὐτοῦ
ἱβ' ἐτῶν ἐπορεύοντο οἱ γονεῖς
αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος <εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ>
εἰς τὴν τοῦ πάσχα ἑορτὴν μετὰ τῆς
συνοδίας αὐτῶν.
καὶ μετὰ λαβόντες τὸ πάσχα
ἀπέστρεφον εἰς τὸν
οἶκον αὐτῶν. ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑποστρέφειν
αὐτοὺς

H

3, 3 ἔστωσεν *cod.*.

XVII, 1, 1/2 ὦν*** δ* τοῦ Ἰησοῦ δωδε[*7*]
ἐπορεύοντο ** *cod.*.

WVαSI

10 γεγονός: γενόμενον *V*, *add.* the sign *SI* || 11
παιδίον: *add.* τοῦτο *B* || 12–14 λέγοντες—αὐτῶ:
deest in B || 12 λέγοντες: λέγων *M* || τάχα: — *V*,
deest in α SI || 12/13 ὁ—αὐτῷ *V SI*: πνεῦμα Θεοῦ
ἐνοικεῖ [ἐννοικοῖ *M*] ἐν τῷ παιδίῳ τούτῳ *α*,
Χριστὸς οἰκεῖ *W*.

WαSI

XVIII, 2, 1/2 οἱ—λέγοντες: ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ ὄχλος
ἐθαύμασεν καὶ εἶπεν *α SI* || 2 οὐράνιον: *God SI* || 4
τοῦ: *deest in α* || 4/5 καὶ—πάσης: and light shall
be in him *SI* || 5 τῆς ἡμέρας: *deest in α SI*.

XIX, 1, 1 ὦντως *α* || 2 ἱβ' ἐτῶν: δωδεκαετοῦς *α*
|| 3 εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ *α SI*: *deest in W* || 4 ἑορτὴν:
post τὴν pas. α || 6 καὶ *α*: *deest in W* || λάβοντες:
deest in α SI || πάσχα: *add. Joseph and Mary SI* || 7
ἀπέστρεφον: ὑπέστρεφον *α Thilo Tisch Sch*,
ὑπέστραφον *Santos Bon* || 8/9 ἐν—αὐτοὺς: *deest*
in SI || 8 ἐν δὲ: καὶ ἐν *α* || τῷ *α*: τὸ *W*.

Gc

ἰδόντες οἱ ὄχλοι ὃ ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς
σημεῖον, προσεκύνησαν αὐτὸν καὶ
εἶπον· ἀληθῶς τάχα ὁ Θεὸς οἰκεῖ
ἐν τῷ παιδίῳ τούτῳ.

Gb/ Luke 2:41–52

ξύλα. ὁμοίως καὶ πάντες οἱ ὄντες ἐκεῖ 10
θαυμάσαντες ἠύχαρίστησαν αὐτῷ.

XVIII 2 Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ ὄχλοι
εἶπον· ἀληθῶς τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον
οὐράνιον ἐστίν. πολλὰς γὰρ ἔσωσε
ψυχὰς <ἐκ θανάτου> καὶ σῶσαι
ἔχει μέχρι ζωῆς αὐτοῦ.

5

XIX 1 Γενομένου δὲ
δωδεκαετοῦς, ἐπορεύοντο οἱ γονεῖς
αὐτοῦ <κατὰ τὸ ἔθος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα
τῇ ἑορτῇ> τοῦ πάσχα μετὰ τοῦ ὄχλου
καὶ ἐκοινωνοῦν τὸ πάσχα.
<καὶ
πληρώσαντες τὰς ἡμέρας αὐτῶν τῆς
ἑορτῆς.> ὑποστρέψαντες δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει
αὐτῶν Ναζαρέτ,

Luke II 41 Καὶ

ἐπορεύοντο οἱ γονεῖς
αὐτοῦ κατ' ἔτος εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ τῇ
ἑορτῇ τοῦ πάσχα. 42 καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο
ἐτῶν δώδεκα, ἀναβαινόντων αὐτῶν 5
κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς ἑορτῆς 43 καὶ
τελειωσάντων τὰς ἡμέρας,
ἐν τῷ ὑποστρέφειν
αὐτοὺς

AT Lt

10 ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ ὄχλος T Lt || 10/11 ὁ—σημεῖον:
deest in T || 11 σημεῖον: signa Lt || ἐπροσεκύνησεν
T || αὐτόν: αὐτῷ πάντες T || 12–13 τάχα—
τούτω: et dixerunt: vere certissime credimus quia
deus es Lt, deest in T.
XVIII, 2 = Lt XV, 2 || 1/2 ἰδόντες—εἶπον: ἰδὼν δὲ
ὁ ὄχλος εἶπεν T Lt || 1 ὄχλος: add. hoc miraculum
Lt || 3 γὰρ: deest in T || ἔσωσε: liberavit Lt, add.
ἀνθρώπων T || 4 ἐκ θανάτου T Lt: deest in A || 4/5
σῶσαι—αὐτοῦ: salvos fecit omnes sperantes in se
Lt || 5 αὐτοῦ Del.

AT

XIX, 1, 1 γενομένου T || δὲ: add. τοῦ Ἰησοῦ T || 2
δωδεκαετοῦς: -ῶν T || 3/4 κατὰ—ἑορτῇ T: τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ A || 4/5 μετὰ—πάσχα: deest in T || 6–8
καὶ—ἑορτῆς T: deest in A || 8 ὑποστρέψαντες—
πόλει: ὑπεστρέψαν οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τοῦ
ὄχλου εἰς τὴν πόλιν T || 9 αὐτῶν Del.

SC

11 θαύμαζον C^{ac}.

Gs
 10 ἀπέμεινεν Ἰησοῦς
 εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ. καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν οἱ
 γονεῖς αὐτοῦ
 νομίσαντες εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ
 συνοδίᾳ.
 2 Ἦλθαν ἡμέρας ὁδὸν καὶ
 ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς συγγενεῦσιν
 καὶ ἐν τοῖς γνωστοῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ μὴ
 εὗρόντες αὐτὸν
 5 ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ
 ζητοῦντες αὐτόν.
 καὶ μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς εὗρον αὐτὸν ἐν
 τῷ ἱερῷ καθήμενον ἐν μέσῳ
 τῶν διδασκάλων καὶ ἀκούοντα αὐτῶν
 10 καὶ ἐπερωτῶντα αὐτούς.
 ἐξίσταντο δὲ οἱ ἀκούοντες αὐτοῦ
 πῶς

Ga
 ἀνῆλθεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ παῖς
 εἰς Ἱερουσόλημ.
 ἐνόμισαν δὲ τῷ ὄχλῳ εἶναι τῆς
 συνοδίας.
 2 Ὁ μεταξὺ δὲ ὁδεύσαντες ἐζήτουν
 αὐτὸν ὅψις ἐν τοῖς συγγενεῦσιν αὐτῶν,
 καὶ μὴ
 εὗρόντες αὐτὸν ἐλυπήθησαν καὶ
 ὑπέστρεψαν [f. 204^v] εἰς τὴν πόλιν
 ζητοῦντες αὐτόν. καὶ ἐγένετο πρωΐ.
 καὶ μετὰ τὴν τρίτην ἡμέραν εὗρον ἐν
 τῷ ἱερῷ αὐτὸν καθεζόμενον ἐν μέσῳ
 τῶν διδασκάλων καὶ ἀκούοντα καὶ
 ἐρωτῶντα περὶ ὃν ἐζήτουν γινῶναι
 περὶ αὐτοῦ. καὶ οἱ προσηλθὼν πάντες
 ἐθαύμαζον, πῶς παιδίον

*H*2, 3 *pr.* καὶ: *add.* ὁ *cod.*.*Wα SI*

10 ἀνῆλθεν: *remained SI* || Ἰησοῦς ὁ παῖς: τὸ
 παιδίον [*add.* ὁ *B Thilo*] Ἰησοῦς *α* || 11
 Ἱεροσόλυμα *α* || 13 ἐνόμισαν δὲ: οἱ δὲ γονεῖς
 αὐτοῦ [*add.* *knew it not rather SI*] ἐνόμισαν *α SI* ||
 ἐνόμισαν: *add.* δὲ *W* || 13/14 τῷ—συνοδίας: τῇ
 συνοδίᾳ εἶναι *α*
 2, 1 ὁ—ὁδεύσαντες: ὁδευσάντων [-σαντον *B*] δὲ
 ὁδὸν ἡμέρας μιᾶς *α*, *after three days SI* || 2 ὅψις:
deest in α SI || τοῖς *α* τῇ *W* || συγγενεῦσιν:
 συγγενέσιν *α*, *add.* among the relatives *SI* || αὐτῶν
α: αὐτόν *W* || 5 ὑπέστρεψαν *W Thilo & c.*: -αντες
α, *add.* πάλιν *α* || πόλιν: Jerusalem *SI* || 6 καὶ—
 πρωΐ *deest in α SI* || 7 τὴν: *deest in α* || 8 αὐτόν:
post εὗρον (7) pos. *α* || 8/9 καθεζόμενον—
 ἀκούοντα: and the teachers listened to him reading
 the law *SI* || 9 ἀκούοντα *α*: -ων *W*, *add.* τοῦ νόμου
 καὶ ἀκούοντα *α Thilo* || 10 ἐρωτῶντα *α*:
 ἐρώτων *W* || 10/11 περὶ—αὐτοῦ *W SI*: αὐτοῦς *α*
 || 11 καὶ οἱ προσῆλθον: προσεῖχον δὲ *α SI* ||
 πάντες: *add.* to his words and *SI*, *add.* καὶ *α*

Gc

ἔμεινεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς
εἰς τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ. <καὶ οὐκ
ἐγίνωσκον οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ.>
ἐνόμισαν δὲ σὺν τῷ ὄχλῳ καὶ <εἰς> τὴν
συνοδίαν αὐτὸν εἶναι.

2 Ὁδεύσαντες δὲ ἡμέρας διάστημα,
τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ
καὶ ἐν τοῖς γνωστοῖς αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ
εὐρόντες [f. 68'] αὐτὸν λυπηθέντες
ὑπέστρεψαν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ
<ζητοῦντες αὐτόν>.

μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς ἡμέρας εὗρον αὐτὸν ἐν
Ἱερουσαλὴμ καθεζόμενον καὶ
διδάσκοντα τοὺς ὄχλους.

ἡδέως αὐτοῦ γὰρ πάντες ἤκουον οἱ τε
γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ νομοδιδάσκαλοι καὶ
ἐθαύμαζον πάντες ὅτι πῶς παιδίον

Luke 2:41–52

ὑπέμεινεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ παῖς
ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, καὶ οὐκ
ἔγνωσαν οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ. 44

νομίσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐν τῇ
συνοδίᾳ

ἦλθον ἡμέρας ὁδὸν καὶ
ἀνεζήτουν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς συγγενεῦσιν
καὶ τοῖς γνωστοῖς, 45 καὶ μὴ
εὐρόντες

ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ
ἀναζητοῦντες αὐτόν. 46 καὶ ἐγένετο

μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς εὗρον αὐτὸν ἐν
τῷ ἱερῷ καθεζόμενον ἐν μέσῳ τῶν
διδασκάλων καὶ ἀκούοντα αὐτῶν καὶ
ἐπερωτῶντα αὐτούς·

47 ἐξίσταντο δὲ πάντες οἱ ἀκούοντες
αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ συνέσει καὶ ταῖς
ἀποκρίσεσιν αὐτοῦ.

AT

10 ἔμεινεν: *add.* δὲ T || 11 τὴν: *deest in T* ||

Ἱεροσόλυμα T || 11/12 καὶ—αὐτοῦ T: *deest in A* ||

13/14 δὲ—εἶναι: γὰρ ἐν τῇ συγγενείᾳ αὐτῶν
εἶναι καὶ ἀπερχόνται μετὰ τοῦ ὄχλου T || 13 εἰς:

conl. Del || 14 αὐτόν Del: αὐτῶν AT.

2, 1 ὁδεύσαντος T || ἡμέρος T || 2 αὐτόν: τὸν

<Ἰησοῦν> Del || 3 αὐτῶν Del, αὐτοῦ T || 4

λυπούμενοι T || 5 ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴν: εἰς

Ἱεροσόλυμα T || 6 ζητοῦντες αὐτόν T: *deest in A* ||

τρεῖς: τρίτην ἡμέραν T || 7 αὐτόν T: *deest in A* ||

8 Ἱερουσαλήμ: τῷ ἱερῷ T || 11 ὑδέως A || 10/11

αὐτοῦ—ἤκουον: γὰρ ἤκουον αὐτοῦ πάντες T ||

11/12 οἱ—νομοδιδάσκαλοι: *post* ἐθαύμαζον

pos. (13) T || 11 οἱ τε: εἴτε A || 12 νομοδιδάσκαλος

A || 13 πάντες: *deest in T* || ὅτι πῶς παιδίον:

ποταπὸς ἐστὶν λέγοντες τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο

πῶς τοιαῦτα φθέγγεται T.

- Gs*
 ἀπεστομάτιζεν τοὺς
 15 πρεσβυτέρους καὶ
 ἐπιλύων τὰ
 κεφάλαια τοῦ νόμου καὶ
 τῶν προφητῶν τὰ σκολιὰ καὶ τὰς
 παραβολάς.
 3 Καὶ
 εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ·
 τέκνον, τί ἐποίησας ἡμῖν;
 ἰδοὺ ὀδυνώμενοι λυπούμενοι
 5 ἐζητοῦμέν σε. καὶ εἶπεν
 αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ἵνα [f. 72'] τί ἐζητεῖτε
 με; οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι ἐν τοῖς τοῦ
 πατρός μου δεῖ εἶναί με;
 4 Οἱ δὲ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ φαρισαῖοι
 εἶπαν τῇ Μαρίᾳ· σὺ εἶ ἡ μήτηρ
 τοῦ παιδίου τούτου; ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· ἐγὼ
 εἰμι. εἶπαν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν· μακαρία εἶ
 5 σύ, ὅτι ἠυλόγησεν κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὸν
 καρπὸν τῆς κοιλίας σου. τοιαύτην γὰρ

- Ga*
 ὑπάρχων ἀπεστόμιζεν τοὺς
 πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διδασκάλους τοῦ
 λαοῦ, ἐπιλύων τὰ
 κεφάλαια τοῦ νόμου καὶ
 τὰς
 ῥήσεις τῶν προφητῶν.
 3 Προσελθοῦσα δὲ
 ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Μαρία εἶπεν τῷ Ἰησοῦ·
 ἵνατί, τέκνον, ἐποίησας ἡμῖν;
 ἰδοὺ ὀδυνώμενοι καὶ λυπούμενοι
 ἐζητοῦμέν σε. καὶ εἶπεν
 αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς· <τί με ζητεῖτε;>
 οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις τοῦ
 πατρός μου δεῖ εἶναί με;
 4 Οἱ δὲ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ φαρισαῖοι
 εἶπον· σὺ εἶ ἡ μήτηρ
 τοῦ παιδίου τούτου; ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· ἐγὼ
 εἰμι. καὶ εἶπον αὐτῇ· μακαρία σὺ
 ἐν γυναιξίν, ὅτι ἠυλόγησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν
 καρπὸν τῆς κοιλίας σου. τοιαύτην γὰρ

*H*4, 3 ἡ δὲ: ἰδε *cod.*.*Wα SI*

14 ὑπάρχων *W* Thilo & c.: -ει *α* || ἀπεστομίζεν:
 ἀποστομίζει *α* *add.* καὶ *W* || 15/16 τοῦ λαοῦ:
deest in SI || 17 κεφάλαια: CHAPTER *SI* || 19
 ῥήσεις: παραβολὰς *α SI*.
 3, 2 τῷ Ἰησοῦ: αὐτῷ *α SI* || 3 ἵνατί—ἡμῖν: ἵνατί
 [ἵνα τί Thilo, ἵνα *B*] τοῦτο ἐποίησας ἡμῖν
 τέκνον *α* || 4 καὶ λυπούμενοι: *deest in α* || 6 τί με
 ζητεῖτε *α SI*: *deest in W* || ζητεῖτε: *add. grieving SI*
 || 7 οἴκοις: *deest in α SI* || 8 με: *add.* τί ἄρα
 ἐζητεῖτε μέ *W*.
 4, 1 *alt.* οἱ *W B* Thilo: *deest in DM* || 2 εἶπον: *add.*
 to his mother *SI* || εἶ: *om.* Santos || ἡ: *deest in α*,
add. Santos || 3/4 εἶπεν—καὶ: *deest in M* || 4 αὐτῇ
α: αὐτὴν *W* || σὺ: *add.* εἶ *DM* || 5 γυναιξίν: *add.*
 and blessed is the fruit of your body *SI* || ἠυλόγησεν
α: εὐλόγησεν *W* || 5/6 τὸν—σου: *you SI*.

Gc

Luke 2:41–52

πάντας ἀπεστόμιζεν τούς τε
πρεσβυτέρους καὶ νομοδιδασκάλους
τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἐρμηνεύον αὐτοῖς τὰ
κεφάλαια τοῦ νόμου καὶ
τὰς
παραβολὰς τῶν προφητῶν.

15

3 Προσελθοῦσα δὲ
ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ εἶπε·
διὰ τί, τέκνον, τοῦτο ἡμῖν ἐποίησας;
<ἰδοὺ ὁ πατήρ σου καὶ γὰρ ὀδυνώμενοι
ἐζητοῦμέν σε.> ὁ δὲ λέγει
αὐτοῖς· τί με ζητεῖτε; οὐκ
εἶπον ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός
μου δεῖ εἶναί με;

4 Οἱ δὲ φαρισαῖοι καὶ γραμματεῖς
ἔλεγον πρὸς τὴν Μαριάμ· σὺ εἰ μήτηρ
τοῦ παιδίου τούτου; <ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· ἐγὼ
εἰμι.> καὶ εἶπον αὐτῇ· μακαρία εἰ σὺ
ἐν γυναιξὶν ὅτι ἠυλόγησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν
καρπὸν τῆς κοιλίας σου. τοιαύτην γὰρ

48 καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν ἐξεπλάγησαν, καὶ
εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ,
τέκνον, τί ἐποίησας ἡμῖν οὕτως;
ἰδοὺ ὁ πατήρ σου καὶ γὰρ ὀδυνώμενοι
ἐζητοῦμέν σε. 49 καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς
αὐτούς· τί ὅτι ἐζητεῖτέ με; οὐκ
ᾔδειτε ὅτι ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός
μου δεῖ εἶναί με;

5

50 καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐ συνῆκαν τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ

5

AT

14 πάντας: *add.* γὰρ *T* || τε: *deest in T* || 16
τῶν Ἰουδαίων: τοῦ λαοῦ *T* || ἐρμηνεύον *Del.* -
ων *AT* || αὐτούς *T* || 16/17 τὰ—νόμου *T*: τὸν
νόμον *A* || 19 φωνάς: παρεμβολάς *T*.
3, 3 διατί *Del* || τέκνον—ἐποίησας: τοῦτο
ἐποίησας ἡμῖν τέκνον *T* || 4/5 ἰδοὺ—σε *T*: καὶ
ἐζητοῦμέν σε ὀδυρόμενοι *A* || 5/6 λέγει αὐτοῖς:
εἶπεν αὐτῇ *T* || 8 δεῖ εἶναί: διήναι *T*.

AT Lt

4 = *Lt* XV, 3 || 4, 1 φαρισαῖοι καὶ γραμματεῖς:
γραμματεῖς [-οῖς *cod.*] καὶ φ. *T Lt* || 2 ἔλεγον:
εἶπον *T* || τὴν: *deest in T* || 3/4 ἡ—εἰμι *T Lt*: *deest*
in A || 4 καὶ εἶπον *T Lt*: λέγουσι πάλιν *A* || αὐτήν
T || εἰ *T Lt*: *deest in A* || 5 ἠυλόγησεν *T*: εὐλόγησεν
A || 6/7 τοιαύτην—δόξαν: τοιαύτην γὰρ δόξαν
παιδίου καὶ δότῃ αὐτοῦ σοφίας καὶ χάριτος *T*,
quod talem gloriosum infantem et tale donum
sapientiae dedit tibi quale Lt || 6 γὰρ *T*: *deest in A*.

Gs

σοφίαν ἐνεστῶς καὶ δόξαν ἀρετῆς οὐδὲ
οἶδαμεν οὔτε ἠκούσαμεν ποτε.

- 5 Ἀναστὰς δὲ ἐκείθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς
ἠκολούθησεν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἦν
ὑποτασσόμενος τοῖς γονεῦσιν αὐτοῦ.
καὶ διετῆρει πάντα τὰ
5 ῥήματα ταῦτα συμβαλοῦσα ἐν τῇ
καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς.

- καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς
προέκοπτεν σοφίᾳ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ
10 καὶ χάριτι
παρὰ Θεῶ καὶ ἀνθρώποις.
ὧ ἡ δό[ξα]...

Ga

δόξαν καὶ τοιαύτην ἀρετὴν
οὔτε οἶδαμεν οὔτε ἠκούσαμεν πώποτε.

5 Ἀναστὰς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς
ἠκολούθησεν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἦν
ὑποτασσόμενος τοῖς γονεῦσιν αὐτοῦ.
ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ διετῆρει τὰ περὶ
αὐτοῦ ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς.

τὸ δὲ παιδίον ὁ Ἰησοῦς
προέκοπτεν σοφίᾳ <καὶ ἡλικίᾳ>
καὶ χάριτι. καὶ ἐδοξάσθη ὑπὸ
Θεοῦ παντοκράτορος.
αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

5, 4–6 Luke 1:42; cf. Luke 11:27, *Prot. Jas.* 11:1,
Gos. Thom. 79:1.

H

5, 12 δόξα: *des. cod.*

5, 4–6 Luke 1:42; cf. Luke 11:27, *Prot. Jas.* 11:1,
Gos. Thom. 79:1.

Wα SI

7 δόξαν—ἀρετὴν: a divine gift *SI* || τοιαύτην α:
τὴν *W* || 7/8 *alt.* καὶ—ποτε: *deest in M* || 7 ἀρετὴν:
add. καὶ σοφίαν α *SI* || 8 οὔτε εἶδαμεν οὔτε: *deest*
in SI || ἴδομεν α || πώποτε: ποτε α.
5, 1 ὁ: *deest in α* || 3 τοῖς—αὐτοῦ: them *SI* ||
αὐτῶν *B* || 4/5 τὰ—Ἰησοῦς: πάντα τὰ γενόμενα
α, his words in her heart and all that Jesus did is a
mighty deed of heaven *SI* || 8 τὸ—Ἰησοῦς: ὁ
δὲ Ἰησοῦς α || 9 καὶ ἡλικίᾳ α *SI*: *deest in W* || 10
καὶ χάριτι: *deest in SI* || 10/11 καὶ—
παντοκράτορος: and worked cures in which he
was glorified by God his father *SI*, *deest in α* || 12
αἰῶνας: *add.* τῶν αἰώνων *D*.

Ge

χάριν καὶ σοφίαν καὶ δόξαν οὐδέποτε
οἶδαμεν ἢ ἠκούσαμεν πώποτε.

5 Ἀναστὰς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς
ἠκολούθησεν αὐτοῖς <καὶ ἦν
ὑποτασσόμενος αὐτῇς>.
ἡ δὲ Μαρία διετῆρει
<πάντα ῥήματα συλλάβουσα> ἐν τῇ
καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς
ἐν τῷ λαῷ μεγαλεῖα, ἰώμενος τὰς
νόσους πάντων. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς
προέκοπτεν ἡλικία καὶ σοφία καὶ
χάριτι. καὶ ἐδοξάσθη παρὰ τοῦ [f. 68^v]
πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἔστιν εὐλόγητος εἰς
τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

Luke 2:41–52

ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς.

51 καὶ κατέβη μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς
Ναζαρεθ καὶ ἦν
ὑποτασσόμενος αὐτοῖς.
καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ διετῆρει πάντα τὰ
ῥήματα ἐν τῇ
καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς.

5

52 καὶ Ἰησοῦς
προέκοπτεν <ἐν τῇ> σοφία καὶ ἡλικία
καὶ χάριτι
παρὰ Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις.

10

5, 4–6 Luke 1:42; cf. Luke 11:27, *Prot. Jas.* 11:1,
Gos. Thom. 79:1.

AT Lt

7/8 οὐδέποτε οἶδαμεν: οὐδέποτε εἶδαμεν Del, οὐκ
οἶδαμεν T || 8 ἢ: οὐδὲ T.

5 = Lt XV, 4 || 2 αὐτοῖς: τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ T Lt || 2/3
καὶ—αὐτῆς T: *deest in A Lt* || 4 Μαρία: Μαρίαμ
T, *add.* πάντα A Lt || συνετῆρει T || 5 πάντα—
συλλάβουσα T: *deest in A Lt* || 6 αὐτῆς Del || 7
μεγαλεῖα: *ante* ἐν *pos.* T, *signa magna Lt* || 8
πάντων: αὐτῶν T || 9/10 καὶ χάριτι: καὶ χάρις
Θεοῦ ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ *des.* T, *deest in Lt* || 10/11 καὶ—
αὐτοῦ: *et omnes qui videbant eum glorificabant
deum patrem omnipotentem Lt* || 11 αὐτοῦ Del ||
καὶ: *qui Lt*.

The Mighty Childhood Deeds of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.¹

I.² I, Thomas the Israelite,³ deemed it necessary to make known to all the Gentile brethren all that our Lord Jesus Christ did after his birth in our region in Bethlehem in the village of Nazareth.⁴ The beginning of which is this.

II. 1. The boy Jesus was five years old⁵ and, after a rain,⁶ he was playing at the ford of a rushing stream. And the disturbed water, which was unclean,⁷ he gathered into pools. And he made them pure and virtuous,⁸ commanding them by the constitution of his word alone and not by means of a deed.⁹

¹ On the original title of the work see Voicu, "Notes," 121–22; idem, "Verso," 55–59; de Santos, *Kirchenslavische*, 37–38. These scholars favour the simpler title of Παῖδικὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν reflected in the citations as well as *Syr* ("The childhood of our Lord Jesus") and *Geo* ("Boyhood of our Lord Jesus Christ").

² This introductory chapter is found only in the Greek tradition and the later versions (*Sl* and *Lt*).

³ The text is attributed to James in *Gc* but not in *Lt* which also adds "and apostle." *Sl* adds the curious title of "the chosen one."

⁴ The double location of Bethlehem and Nazareth, found also in certain *Gac* MSS, may have been considered problematic to the other copyists/translators who variously altered the text to read either Bethlehem (*P*), or Nazareth (*Gb*, *Lt*), or omitted the names entirely (*W* and *α* have just "our region").

⁵ *Lm* and *Sl* have "four years old," and *Geo* "almost five." The discrepancy is likely due to uncertainty over whether Jesus was five or in his fifth year.

⁶ "After a rain" is lacking in the early versions.

⁷ "Which was unclean" is lacking in the early versions.

⁸ For "pure and virtuous" *Syr* reads "clear and bright," *Geo* "raised and purified," and *Eth* "making it descend pure and clear skillfully."

⁹ The versions lack the description of Jesus' method.

2. Then, taking soft clay from the mud, he formed twelve sparrows. It was the Sabbath when he did these things, and many children were with him.¹⁰

3. And a certain Jew, seeing the boy Jesus doing these things with the other children, went to his father Joseph and falsely accused the boy Jesus saying, "On the Sabbath he made clay, which is not lawful, and fashioned twelve sparrows."

4. When Joseph came he rebuked him, saying, "Why do you do these things¹¹ on the Sabbath?" But Jesus clapped his hands, commanding the birds with a cry¹² in front of everyone. And he said: "Go, take flight¹³ like living beings."¹⁴ And the sparrows, taking flight, went away squawking.

5. And when the Pharisee saw this he marveled and reported it to all his friends.¹⁵

III. 1. And the son of Annas the High Priest¹⁶ said to him: "Why do you do such a thing on the Sabbath?"¹⁷ And taking a willow twig, he ruined the ponds and drained out the water which Jesus had gathered. And he dried up their gatherings.

¹⁰ *Geo*, *Lv*, *Eth*, and *Gac* add that the children were "playing" with Jesus.

¹¹ Joseph's accusation against Jesus is more explicit in *Eth*, *Lm*, and *Gac* which all read "what is unlawful" for "these things."

¹² "With a cry" is lacking in all other sources except *Ga* which reads "he shouted."

¹³ *Syr*, *Geo*, and *Gabc* add "and remember me."

¹⁴ The sources disagree over whether "living one(s)" refers to the birds (*Syr*, *Gac*) or Jesus (*Geo*, *Gb*, *V*). *Lm* reads "and live" and *Eth* omits the term entirely.

¹⁵ "Pharisee" and "friends" are supported by *Syr*, *Geo*, and *Eth*. In *Ga* and *Lm* "the Jews" report to their "chief men."

¹⁶ Annas the High Priest appears in Luke 3:2; Acts 4:6; John 18:13, 24; and *Prot. Jas.* 15:1. All other Greek witnesses (except *W*) as well as *Syr*, *Eth*, and *Ir* identify Annas as "the scribe." Only *Geo* and *Lm* support *Gs*. Many of the sources add a statement about the antagonist's location: "with Joseph" in *Geo*, *Lm*, and *Ga*, "with Jesus" in *Syr* and *Gc*, and "with the Pharisee" in *Eth*.

¹⁷ This question appears only in *Gs*.

2. Seeing what had happened, Jesus¹⁸ said to him: "Your fruit (shall be) without root and your shoot dried up like a branch carried out by a strong wind."¹⁹

3. And immediately that child withered.²⁰

IV. 1. While he was going from there²¹ with his father Joseph, someone²² running bumped into his shoulder.²³ And Jesus said to him:²⁴ "Cursed be your ruling faculty."²⁵

And immediately he died. And at once the people, seeing that he died, cried out and said:

"Whence was this boy begotten that his word becomes deed?"

¹⁸ *Gac* add "was angry."

¹⁹ Prior to the curse *Gabc* add: "Wicked (*Gc* and *Sl*: "Sodomite"), impious and foolish (*Gb* lacks "foolish"), what harm did the pools and water (*Gb* lacks "and water") to you?" *Gs*' version of the curse is supported by *Syr*, *Geo*, *Eth*, and *Lm*. *Gac*, however, is significantly different: "Behold, even now you are dried up like a tree and will by no means bring forth (*Gc*: "have") leaves nor root nor fruit." *Gb* has "you shall no longer go on your way (cf. *Gs* 4:1) and you shall be dried up like the branch which you carry." The amended reading "violent wind" (*Gs* reads τίμιον, "precious," for βίαιον, "violent") is supported by *Syr*'s "broken by the wind," and may lie behind *Geo*'s corrupt reading "through the power of the spirit of Ion."

²⁰ All of the versions end here along with *Gs*. The later Greek MSS add: "And Jesus departed and went off to his house (*Ga* only). And the parents of the withered one carried him away bewailing his youth (*Gc*: "...came and found he who had been struck suddenly"). And they brought him to Joseph and reproached him: 'You have such a child who does such things (*Gc*: 'You have such a child and look what he did to us')." *Gc* then continues with "Teach him to bless and not to curse." *Gb* reads: "And seeing this, the children playing with him were amazed and, going off, reported it to the father of the dead boy. Running, he found the boy dead and went off and reproached Joseph."

²¹ In *Gbc* this event takes place "several days" after the previous chapter.

²² All other witnesses specify that Jesus' antagonist is a child.

²³ In *Gb* the boy throws a stone at Jesus' shoulder, in *Eth* the boy strikes his chest, and in *Ir* the boy "annoys" Jesus.

²⁴ *Geo* and *Gac* add that Jesus was "angry."

²⁵ *Gs*' obscure curse is completely unique. All other witnesses read: "You shall no longer go your way."

2. When they saw what had happened the parents of the dead boy blamed his father Joseph, saying, "Therefore, having this child, you cannot live with us in this village."²⁶ If you wish to be here, teach him to bless and not to curse; for we have been deprived of our child."²⁷

V. 1. And Joseph²⁸ said to Jesus: "Why do you say such things?"²⁹ They suffer and hate us."³⁰ And the boy said to Joseph: "Wise words are known to you."³¹ Whence your words came, you are not ignorant; they were told of a five-year-old.³² And, unable to raise those

²⁶ *Gc* inserts "take him and go away henceforth" which finds support in similar explicit commands of banishment in *P*, *Lm*, and *Ir*.

²⁷ This sentence is lacking in the versions and varies in the Greek MSS. *Ga* (with *Lt*) reads "for he kills (*Sl*: "plays wickedly with") our children," *Gc* "for he cripples our children," and *Gb* repeats "all the things he says become an accomplished deed."

²⁸ In *Eth* Joseph "reprimands" Jesus, *Lm* has "admonished," and *Gac* insert "took him apart and admonished" him. The other early versions are more gentle with variations of "drew him near to teach him" (*Syr*, *Geo*, *Lv*).

²⁹ Jesus' words are Joseph's concern also in *Gc* and *Geo*. But in *Eth*, *Lm*, and *Ga* he asks, "why do you do such things?" *Syr* and *Lv* combine the two.

³⁰ *Geo* and *Eth* lack "suffer." *Gac* add a third element: "and cast us out (*Gc* and *Sl* add "from the village").

³¹ The wide variation in the sources renders the original reading uncertain. *Syr* has "if the words of my father were not wise," *Geo* has "your words are sufficient in wisdom," and *Eth* has "if the people had not known the word of the wisdom of my father." *Lv* cuts off after "if these people were not wise," while *Lm* reads "no son is wise save he whom his father has taught according to the knowledge of this time." *Gac* have "I know that these words of yours are not mine but yours."

³² The sentence as it stands in *Gs* is problematic. The scribe's spelling allows for a number of different readings and this one is by no means certain. The result clause in the other witnesses relate the failure of understanding the wisdom/words to instruction: "he would not know how to instruct children" (*Syr*), "I have learned/I know that (you) are setting those children on the path" (reading uncertain) (*Geo*), "they would not know the punishment of their children. What's more he has revealed to them that which is concealed, in order to make them understand" (*Eth*). *Gac* have: "nevertheless I shall be (*Gc*: "must be") silent for your sake."

(children) up, these people too shall receive their punishment."³³ And immediately the ones accusing him were blinded.

2. And³⁴ Joseph³⁵ took hold of his ear and pulled hard.

3. And Jesus³⁶ said to him: "It is enough for you to seek me and not find;³⁷ but do not be distressed at this³⁸ for you have a natural ignorance.³⁹ And you do not see with light why I belong to you.⁴⁰ Behold! You know not how to cause me grief.⁴¹ For I am yours, and I became your captive."⁴²

³³ Again the early witnesses differ in their curses, though they all appear to be trying to justify Jesus' actions. *Syr* has: "For if these were children of the bridal chamber, they would not receive the curses. These shall not see torment." *Geo* has: "And then he began to say thus: 'Although they accept not the curse, they may indeed accept punishment.'" *Eth* reads: "Those who have not found (the significance of) this curse have found also their judgement. It is only the wicked that the curse pursues." And *Lm* begins with "and the curse of his father hurts none but evil-doers" but does not follow with the actual curse nor Joseph's punishment of Jesus. The complete saying in *Ir* (from "Your wise words...") reads: "anyone who is innocent does not die from judgements." *Gac* lack "unable to raise those (children) up."

³⁴ *Ga* adds: "And those who saw it were much afraid and in great perplexity and said about him: 'What is this? Every word, whether good or bad, becomes a deed'; *Gc* adds "and they were maddened with perplexity" and *Lt* adds "and they walked up and down and said, 'All the words which proceed from his mouth are accomplished.'"

³⁵ The early versions and *Ga* add "being angry."

³⁶ *Geo* and *Gc* add "looked at and"; *Ga* adds "was very angry and."

³⁷ The ease with which *μη* can be confused with *με* may account for the variation in the witnesses between "find" (*Geo*, *Syr*) and "not find" (*Gs*, *Eth*, *Ga*). *Lm* lacks the saying and *Ir* is wholly different.

³⁸ This threefold version of the saying (seek/find/be distressed), somewhat close to the version in *Gos. Thom.* 2, 92, 94, is corrupt in its two lone witnesses: *Gs* (μόλοπιζήν) and *Gc* (omitting "find" and reading μή με λοπιάζεις).

³⁹ The early versions terminate the chapter here with the variants: "for you have not acted with knowledge" (*Syr*), "as for you, you have not known perfectly; you have forgotten" (*Eth*), "in benefiting from the opportunity, you have now accepted knowledge with your hands" (*Geo*). *Lm* and *Ir* have no saying. *Ga* reads "rather because (ὅτι, but perhaps οὐ) you acted wisely."

⁴⁰ *Gac* have "you do not know that I am yours."

⁴¹ *Ga* has the imperative "do not injure me" and *Gc* (*Lt* only) reads "if you did know, you would not make me angry."

⁴² For "captured" (ἐχειρώθη) Voicu ("Verso") suggests "assigned" (ἐχειρίσθη).

VI. 1. And a teacher named Zacchaeus, standing listening to Jesus saying these things to his father, marveled very much.⁴³

2. And he said to Joseph: "Come,⁴⁴ bring him brother, so that he may be taught letters,⁴⁵ and so that he may know all knowledge,⁴⁶ and learn to love those his own age,⁴⁷ and respect old age and please elders,⁴⁸ so that he may in turn teach them to acquire a desire to be like unto children."⁴⁹

3. And Joseph said to the teacher: "Who is able to control this boy and teach him?⁵⁰ Think him not to be almost a man,⁵¹ brother." And the teacher said: "Give him to me, brother, and do not let him concern you."⁵²

4. And the boy Jesus looked straight at them⁵³ and said to the teacher this speech:⁵⁴ "Being a teacher you have turned out to be naturally clever.⁵⁵ But with respect to the

⁴³ *Gac*(*Lt*) add "that a child should speak like this (*Lt* adds "I have never seen")." The *Gc* MS *A* adds instead "saying to himself, 'such a child says these things!'"

⁴⁴ All other sources begin differently. The versions, except for *Eth* (which is silent) and *Lm* (which goes its own way), have Zacchaeus insult Jesus. *Syr* reads "Oh wicked boy. Why do you speak that way?" and *Geo* has "That child of yours is rude and impudent." *Ir* has the opposite extreme: "This is a wonderful boy." *Gac* add here "you have a wise child and he has a good mind."

⁴⁵ *Geo* lacks "so that he might be taught letters."

⁴⁶ The early versions lack "and so that he may know all knowledge."

⁴⁷ *Eth* has "for I will love him more than the young people."

⁴⁸ For "and respect old age and please elders" *Syr* reads only "and respect old age," while *Eth* has "and I will honour him more than the elders."

⁴⁹ This is a problematic section in *Gs* but its sense is shared by the other sources: "and that he may have the love of children and again so that he may teach them" (*Syr*[*GP*]), "so that he performs compassion for their own sons, receiving and teaching them" (*Geo*), "moreover that he become a teacher" (*Eth*), "to have mutual love with children, and be instructed among us in Jewish doctrine" (*Lm*), and "(I shall teach him) to avoid all those his own age and respect parents so that also he shall be loved like their own child" (*Ga*).

⁵⁰ Only *Lm* fully supports *Gs* here; *Eth* and *Geo* have "accept and teach," while *Syr* and *Ga* lack "restrain."

⁵¹ *Syr* and *Gc* (and *Eth* though with variation) have "small cross," which is mentioned later in *Ga* 6:2b.26–29 and its parallels in the early versions. The other sources vary; *Geo* has "small order," and *Ga* has "the smallest."

name that he names you are a stranger.⁵⁶ For I am from outside of you,⁵⁷ and I am within you because of (this) noble birth in the flesh.⁵⁸ And you, a man of the Law, do not know the Law.”⁵⁹ And he said to Joseph:⁶⁰ “When you were born, I existed and was standing beside you⁶¹ so that, Father, you may be taught a teaching by me which no other knows nor is able to teach.”⁶² And you will bear the name of salvation.”⁶³

⁵² This sentence is unique to *Gs*.

⁵³ For “looked straight at them” the early versions read “answered.”

⁵⁴ “This speech” is lacking in the other sources.

⁵⁵ This problematic sentence is unique to *Gs*. *Gac* have instead: “truly teacher what my father told you is true.”

⁵⁶ In the early versions it is the teacher who “names,” not Joseph. They also finish the sentence differently: “I am a stranger to them” (*Syr* and *Geo*), “you have named a strange thing” (*Eth*). *Lm*’s version of the saying is much altered. *Gac* have “I am Lord of those people (*Ga* adds “but you are strangers. For to me was given this authority”).”

⁵⁷ *Gac(Lt)* have instead “I am from before the ages.”

⁵⁸ This sentence shows much variation in the early versions. *Geo* ends with “because a certain noble birth as flesh is with me,” and *Syr* with “Honour in the flesh I have not.” *Eth* lacks “but I am within you,” reading only “I do not possess like you a family of flesh,” and *Lm* has the shorter “I have no carnal parent.” *Gac* again differ sharply with “and now I am present. And among you I have been born and with you (“us” *Ga*) I am.”

⁵⁹ Again, the early versions show great variety: “you are by the Law, and in the Law you abide (*Lm* adds “but I was before the Law”) (*Syr* and *Lm*), “you, however, stand above the Law” (*Geo*), and “you are the only one who may have understood the Law” (*Eth*). The sentence is entirely lacking in *Gac* but they insert here “I know (*Ga* adds “who you are and”) whence you were born and how many are the years of your life.” The same saying is found at a later point in the versions (see below).

⁶⁰ The change of audience is found only in *Gs* but it is implicit in *Syr* where Jesus’ words indicate that it is Joseph to whom he now speaks.

⁶¹ Here *Geo* reads like a poor translation: “for in your nativity you stood firm.” *Gac* has “truly I say to you, teacher, that I know when you were born.”

⁶² The shift in audience from the teacher to Joseph appears to have led to a variety of translations in the early versions. *Syr* and *Lm* differ from *Gs* at the start with “But you think that you are my father (*Lm*: “that you have no equal in learning”),” whereas the entire sentence is different in *Geo* (“and you perhaps shall think since I am the father, that you may find guidance from the son whom another never understood, nor another teaches”) and *Eth* (“as you yourself hope to become father, you will therefore be educated by me”). *Gac* have “if you wish to be a perfect teacher, listen to me and I shall teach you a wisdom which no-one else knows except for me alone and the one who sent me to you.” They then add: “(*Ga* adds “I am your teacher, while”) you are my student. And I know how old you are and how much time you have to live.”

5. And the Jews⁶⁴ cried out aloud⁶⁵ and said to him: "Oh, what a new and incredible wonder! The child is perhaps five years old, and oh, what things he says. We have never known such words,⁶⁶ since no-one has spoken such a thing as this child, neither a teacher of the Law nor a Pharisee."⁶⁷

6. The boy answered them and said: "Why do you marvel? Rather, why do you disbelieve the things that I said to you are true?⁶⁸ When you were born and your fathers and your fathers' fathers, I and the one created before this world know accurately."⁶⁹

7. And all the people listening were speechless, no longer being able to speak to him.⁷⁰ Approaching them, he was leaping about⁷¹ and saying, "I was playing with you because I know you admire trifles and you are small minded."⁷²

⁶³ This sentence is unique to *Gs*. The early versions provide a lengthy addition: "And as for the cross of which you have spoken, he shall bear it, whose it is. For when I am greatly exalted, I shall lay aside whatever is mixed of your race (*Eth* begins instead: "no one other than you has seen the image of the cross that I have sworn to carry. My own rule is that myself, having to be crucified, I refrain from your own works"). For you do not know whence (*SyrG* adds "I was born and whence") you are. I alone know truly when you were born, and for how much time you are to remain here." The saying finds partial support in *Gac*: "I know how much time and how much you are going to live, truly I alone know. And when you see the cross which my father told you, then you will believe that all I say to you is true." *Ga* then adds, repeating, "And I am Lord of those people, but you are strangers. Then and now I am the same."

⁶⁴ The early versions have only "they."

⁶⁵ The early versions add "and were amazed."

⁶⁶ The early versions place these two sentences, preceded by "whence was this boy born?," after the following sentence. *Gac* support the order of *Gs*.

⁶⁷ The three categories of intellectuals are listed in the early versions as "priests (*Syr*) /teachers (*Geo*)/ancients (*Eth*)/prophets (*Lm*)...Pharisees...scribes."

⁶⁸ The other sources have: "(*Eth* adds "you do not know what I have said to you") that I know when you were born. Yet I have something more to say ("and this paradox I say" *Gac*) to you."

⁶⁹ This sentence is lacking in *Syr*. The other sources vary widely. *Geo* has "I know how you, I saw and heard a voice" (reading uncertain), *Eth* has "I know it from my father, for he himself knows me," *Lm* has "I have seen Abraham, whom you call your father, and talked with him, and he has seen me," and *Gac* reads "I know when the world was created and I know the one who sent me to you."

8. Therefore, as they seemed to be comforted by the boy's exhortation,⁷³ the teacher said to his father: "Come, bring him into the school and I shall teach him reading and writing." And taking hold of his hand, Joseph led him into the school.⁷⁴ And the teacher, treating him nicely, took him into the school.⁷⁵ And Zacchaeus wrote the alphabet for him and began to teach the letters.⁷⁶ And he would repeat to him a letter many times. But the child did not answer him. Irritated, the teacher struck him on the head. And the boy was vexed⁷⁷ and said to him: "I wish to teach you rather than be taught by you, for I know much more accurately than you the letters which you are teaching."⁷⁸ To me this is like a noisy gong or a clanging cymbal which therefore does not represent the sound or the glory nor the power of understanding."⁷⁹

⁷⁰ This sentence is lacking in *Geo*.

⁷¹ "Leaping about" is lacking in the early versions.

⁷² *Geo* reads "I joked with you, because you put on the outrage of pride because you are indeed unequal in your minds."

⁷³ *Eth* begins with "while the teacher persuaded Joseph."

⁷⁴ This sentence is lacking in the early versions.

⁷⁵ The early versions add "and going in, the boy was silent."

⁷⁶ The early versions, and *Gb*, have "he said to him: 'Say, alpha (*Syr* and *Lm*: 'aleph').'" This variant reading agrees better with the version of the story in *Gs* 14 and in the citations from Irenaeus and *Ep. Apos.* (see 2.1.2.1 and 2.1.1.1 above).

⁷⁷ "Vexed" is lacking in the early versions.

⁷⁸ This sentence is supported by *Gac* but the early versions instead report a proverb which is best represented in *Syr* and *Ir*: "when the anvil of the blacksmith is hammered, it is especially the one who beat it who is beaten; it feels nothing" (*Syr[P]*), "any anvil that is struck teaches him who strikes it; it is not it that is taught" (*Ir*). *Eth* has the shorter "when one strikes him with a hammer, does the child learn?" *Geo*, however, is closer to the Greek tradition with "I am greatly astonished to teach the unskilled."

⁷⁹ The early versions begin "I am better able to say than you those things, for you speak like...." The negative qualities of the instruments are then listed as: "those never respond a word and it is missing to them the ability to know and comprehend" (*Syr[P]*), "they do not call to mind the voice of a spoken idea nor a thought of intelligent power" (*Geo*), "without tone of word nor wisdom nor skill" (*Eth*), and "there is no consciousness of things understood by their sound" (*Lm*).

9. When the boy ceased from his anger⁸⁰ he said by himself all the letters from alpha to omega⁸¹ with much care and clarity.⁸² And looking straight at the teacher⁸³ he said: "Not knowing the alpha according to its nature,⁸⁴ how can you teach another the beta?"⁸⁵ Hypocrite! If you know, first teach me the alpha and then I will trust you to speak of the beta." And then he began to instruct⁸⁶ the teacher through repetition about the first letter. But the teacher could not reply to him.⁸⁷

10. As many were listening, he said to the teacher: "Listen teacher, and understand the order of the first letter. Pay close attention how it has sharp lines and middle strokes, which you see coming to a point, intersecting, joining, creeping out, drawing back, launching upward, bouncing about, bearing its missiles, three-cornered, two-cornered; the same forms, of the same place, the same kind; provided that the alpha has lines that are raised, balanced and of equal measures and proportions."⁸⁸

⁸⁰ The indication of Jesus' anger is again lacking in the early versions.

⁸¹ "Aleph to tau," *Syr* and *Lm*.

⁸² *Syr* has "with much intelligence"; *Geo* and *Eth* have "more accurately."

⁸³ The early versions lack "looking straight at the teacher."

⁸⁴ The early versions lack "according to its nature."

⁸⁵ "Aleph...beth," *Syr* and *Lm*.

⁸⁶ *Geo* has "to examine and name."

⁸⁷ This sentence is lacking in the early versions which continue on into the description of the letter.

⁸⁸ The description of the letter is difficult to decipher in the Greek and is variously translated and altered in the versions to a point that they offer no help in understanding the language of the original. The Slavonic MSS are the most remote from the Greek as they offer a mixture of letter speculation and heavenly ascent. Previous editors' attempts to reconstruct the section are reflected in the critical apparatus, except for efforts made by Hofmann (*Das Leben Jesu*, 222–23) and Meyer ("Kindheitserzählung des Thomas¹," 138). These two scholars use the late Latin translation to determine the original Greek words, a process that is flawed given that the Latin text is at some remove from *Gs* and the early versions. My translation endeavours to remain as close as possible to the MS readings of *Gs*.

VII. 1. And the teacher, having heard such an address as Jesus made regarding such principles of the first letter, was disturbed by such teaching and his defense. And the teacher⁸⁹ said: "Woe is me! Woe is me! I am at a loss, wretch that I am."⁹⁰ I have brought shame⁹¹ down upon myself.

2. "Take this child away from me, brother, for I cannot bear the severity of his look nor the clarity of his speech."⁹² This boy is simply not of this earth,⁹³ he can even tame fire.⁹⁴ Perhaps this boy existed before the creation of the world.⁹⁵ What kind of womb bore him? What kind of mother reared him? I do not know. Woe is me, brother, he stupefies me. I cannot follow along in my mind. I deceived myself, thrice unhappy as I am. I thought to find a disciple and I am found having a teacher.⁹⁶

3. "I ponder, friends, about my shame because I am an old man and I have been overcome by a child."⁹⁷ And⁹⁸ I must⁹⁹ be cast out and die or¹⁰⁰ flee from this village on account of this boy. I cannot, indeed it is not possible for me to be seen in the sight especially of all

⁸⁹ The early versions and *Gc* add "cried and."

⁹⁰ This sentence is supported only by *Gac*.

⁹¹ For "shame" the early versions have: "trouble" *Syr(P)*, "this thing" *Geo*, "this affliction" *Eth*. *Lv* has a lacuna, and *Lm* and *Ir* are silent.

⁹² "For I cannot bear...speech" is supported only by *Gac*.

⁹³ The early versions read instead "Because it is not right for this boy to be upon the earth," and then add, "truly he is worthy of (*Eth*: "destined for") a great cross (*Eth* adds "that will be able to instruct this boy and teach him something")."

⁹⁴ This clause is lacking in *Eth*.

⁹⁵ Instead of "creation of the world" the early versions have "the Flood of Noah."

⁹⁶ *Geo* breaks off at this point.

⁹⁷ This sentence, largely repeated shortly after, is not found here in the early versions. However, its location and form in *Gs* are supported in *Gac*.

⁹⁸ The early versions here add: "I cannot bear it" (*Syr*), "I have no peace of mind" (*Eth*), "what shall I say? I cannot endure the words of this boy" (*Lm*).

⁹⁹ *Eth* reads instead "cannot."

¹⁰⁰ "Lose heart and die or" is lacking in the early versions.

those who saw that I was overcome by a very small child.¹⁰¹ What can I say or tell anyone concerning the rules of the first letter which he proposed to me? Truly, friends, I am ignorant. For I know neither the beginning nor the end.¹⁰²

4. "Therefore, brother Joseph, take him with salvation into your house.¹⁰³ For what great thing¹⁰⁴ this boy is—either a god or an angel¹⁰⁵ or whatever else I might say—I do not know."

VIII. 1. The boy Jesus laughed and said: "Now let the barren bear fruit and the blind see¹⁰⁶ and the foolish in heart find wisdom.¹⁰⁷ Because I have come from on high so that I

¹⁰¹ The versions reflect the first occurrence of this saying with "I cannot look at the boy. I, who am an old man, have been defeated by a small child" (*Syr* and *Lm*). *Eth* is somewhat different, reading instead: "I cannot look at the boy. I am greatly filled with the eloquence of his mouth, and I cannot comprehend the things which he has uttered."

¹⁰² The latter three sentences are represented variously in the early versions. They read: "Even at the beginning, I did not know a thing that he said. My self is lost by reason of the arrangement of his speech, and the beauty of his words" (*SyrB*; *SyrP* has a lacuna mid-sentence thereby obscuring its meaning), "I can find neither beginning nor end to what he affirms; for it is difficult to find a beginning for one's self. I tell you truly, I lie not, that to my eyes, the conduct of this boy, the beginning of his speech, and the end of his meaning, seem to have nothing in common with men" (*Lm*), "I cannot comprehend the things which this boy has uttered. Indeed, I see in his eyes intelligence. Moreover, (I admire) the eloquence of his mouth and the purity of his language" (*Eth*).

¹⁰³ This sentence is lacking in the early versions. The phrase "with salvation" is unique to *Gs*.

¹⁰⁴ *Eth* and *Lm* lack "great thing."

¹⁰⁵ For "either a god or an angel" *Eth* reads "but if he is the Saviour."

¹⁰⁶ *Syr* and *Lv* add "the fruit of life of the judge," and *Eth* adds "the fruit of life who has opened (their eyes)."

¹⁰⁷ The early versions lack this last element. *Ga* (*Sl* only) has "the deaf hear and the uncomprehending understand in their heart," *Gc* "the deaf hear in the heart." The entire sentence in *Lt* reads "let all those not seeing see, and not understanding understand, let the deaf hear, and let those who are dead through me rise again."

may deliver those below and call them to the heights just as the one who sent me to you commanded me.”¹⁰⁸

2. And¹⁰⁹ immediately all those who had fallen under his curse were saved.¹¹⁰ And no-one dared to make him angry from that time on.

IX. 1. And again, after many days,¹¹¹ Jesus was playing with still other children on a roof of an upstairs room. And one of the children fell and died. The other children, seeing this, went to their homes. And they left Jesus alone.

2. And the parents of the dead child came and accused¹¹² Jesus saying, “You knocked down our child.” But Jesus said: “I did not knock him down.”

3. And while they were raging and shouting, Jesus came down from the roof¹¹³ and stood beside the body and cried out in a loud voice¹¹⁴ saying, “Zeno, Zeno—for this was his name—rise and¹¹⁵ say if I knocked you down.” And rising, he said: “No, Lord.”¹¹⁶

4. And¹¹⁷ seeing, they marveled.¹¹⁸ And again Jesus also said to him: “Fall asleep!”¹¹⁹ And the parents of the child praised God and worshipped the boy Jesus.¹²⁰

¹⁰⁸ This sentence is lacking in the versions.

¹⁰⁹ *Gac* add “when the child finished speaking.”

¹¹⁰ For “were saved” the early versions read “became living” (*SyrGP*), “were restored” (*Lv*), “they understood” (*Eth*).

¹¹¹ *Syr* and *Lv* (with *Lm* and *Ir*) begin “And again, on the Sabbath.”

¹¹² “Accused” is supported only in *Lm* (“cried out against”) and *Ga*.

¹¹³ “To the tomb” *Eth*.

¹¹⁴ “Cried out in a loud voice” is lacking in *Syr* and *Lm*.

¹¹⁵ “Rise and” is lacking in the versions.

¹¹⁶ *Gab* add “you did not throw me down, but raised me.”

¹¹⁷ The early versions explicitly identify the audience as “the parents of the child” (*Eth*, *Lm* [and *Gc*]), or “all of them” (*Syr*).

¹¹⁸ *Eth* adds “and were terrified.”

X.¹²¹ 1. And the boy Jesus was about seven years old¹²² and he was sent by his mother Mary to fill a water jar. But there was a great crowd at the water cistern, and the pitcher was jostled and broke.

2. Then Jesus, spreading out the cloak which he was wearing, filled it full of water and brought it to his Mother. And Mary, seeing the sign which Jesus did,¹²³ kissed him saying, "Lord, my God, bless my child."¹²⁴ For she was afraid lest someone malign him.¹²⁵

¹¹⁹ Zeno's subsequent return to death is found only in *Gs* and *Ir*. However, the motif is common to similar trial stories in *Arab. Gos. Inf.* and *Arm. Gos. Inf.* and parallels in non-Christian literature.

¹²⁰ For "and worshipped the boy Jesus" *Syr* and *Lm* read "for these wonders ("this miracle" *Lm*)"; some *Ga* MSS have the similar "on account of the sign that had happened," and *Gc* reads "and the parents, seeing the wonderful thing Jesus did, praised God." In *Eth* the entire sentence reads only "they glorified the Saviour."

¹²¹ A similar story is told of Ezra in a *Jeremiah Apocryphon*. In this tale the young Ezra plays with other children. They all fill their vessels with water, but Ezra's breaks. After being chastised by the Chaldeans, he prays to God for help, and fills his robe with water. And "when he reached the school, he put his robe down full of water like a vessel, and he sprinkled the school. He took his robe and put it on dry. The teacher bowed down and revered him, saying: it is thou that shalt deliver this people from captivity. And Ezra came to advance daily in knowledge and stature and he became daily pleasing in the grace of God" (32; from Kuhn, "A Coptic Jeremiah Apocryphon," 310).

¹²² In *Gabc* and *Lm* (but not *Ir*) Jesus is six years old.

¹²³ The mention of "signs" performed by Jesus, very common in *Gac* but found here alone in *Gs*, is entirely lacking in the early versions. They read instead "Mary was astonished at all that she was seeing."

¹²⁴ Mary's actions ("kissed him") and words are lacking in the early versions. *Gab* lack the prayer.

¹²⁵ This last sentence is quite different from its parallels in the other sources. The versions read "and kept it in her heart" (cf. Luke 2:51), and *Ga* has "and kept within herself the mysterious deeds which she had seen him doing." *Gbc* are silent.

XI.¹²⁶ 1. At the time when Joseph was sowing seeds, Jesus¹²⁷ sowed also one measure of grain.¹²⁸

2. And his father¹²⁹ gathered 100 great measures¹³⁰ and he gave it to the poor and the orphans.¹³¹ And Joseph took some of Jesus' grain.¹³²

XII.¹³³ 1. And he was about eight years old. And when his father, being a carpenter, was making ploughs and yokes, he took a bed from a certain rich man so that he might make him a great and suitable couch.¹³⁴ But since one of the cross pieces was shorter and he did

¹²⁶ This chapter is placed out of sequence in *Eth*. It follows *Jesus Rides a Sunbeam* which is placed after *Jesus in the Temple* (*Gs* 17).

¹²⁷ *Syr* adds "was playing and," and *Gac* adds "went with his father and."

¹²⁸ The amount of grain is variously represented in the sources. *Eth* has "five grains of barley," *Lm* "a little wheat." *Gac* intensify the miracle by reading "one eye" (*Gc*) and "one seed" (*Ga*).

¹²⁹ In *Syr* and *Eth* Jesus gathers the wheat.

¹³⁰ The yield also varies in some of the sources. *Eth* has "500 bags," and *Lm* has "three quarters of corn."

¹³¹ The early versions lack "and the orphans"; *Gc* adds "and the widows."

¹³² This final, obscure sentence is lacking in the versions. In *Gc* it is related to a blessing of the harvest: "and Joseph held back a little of the grain for the blessing of the seed." In *Ga* Joseph takes "what was left of the grain of Jesus."

¹³³ A similar story is told of the Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa: "Once a neighbour woman was building a house. After erecting the walls she discovered that the beams for the roof were too short. She went to Hanina for help. Playing on her name, Hanina said, 'May your beams reach!' One Polemo, supposedly an eyewitness, said: 'I saw that house and its beams projected one cubit on either side, and people told me, 'This is the house which Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa covered with beams, through his prayer''" (*b. Ta'an. 25a*; cited in Evans, *Noncanonical Writings*, 234). *Eth*'s version of this episode is far different from the other witnesses. It reads: "Joseph was a carpenter and he made nothing but yokes, carts and ploughs. A farmer brought to him a piece of wood to cut up. The Lord Jesus said to his father: 'Father, show me how to cut it up.' Joseph showed him. The Lord Jesus made his measures to cut. He worked out roughly and squared off the wood. He showed his work to Joseph his father and said to him: 'Is this how you want me to do this now?'"

¹³⁴ *Syr* and *Lm* specify a bed/couch of "six cubits."

not have the (right) length, Joseph was distressed, not knowing what to do.¹³⁵ Coming to his father, the boy said: "Put down the two pieces of wood and align them from your end."¹³⁶

2. And Joseph did just as Jesus said to him. And the boy stood at the other end and took hold of the short piece of wood and stretched it. And he made it equal to the other piece of wood. And he said to his father: "Do not be distressed but do what you wish."¹³⁷ And Joseph embraced and kissed him saying, "Blessed am I for God gave me this boy."¹³⁸

XIII. 1. And Joseph seeing his way of thinking and sensible mind¹³⁹ was unwilling for him to be unacquainted with letters. And he handed him over to another teacher.¹⁴⁰ And the teacher, writing for him the alphabet,¹⁴¹ would say: "Say, alpha."¹⁴²

2. But the boy said: "First¹⁴³ you say to me what is the beta and I will tell you what is the alpha."¹⁴⁴ And the teacher became irritated and hit him.¹⁴⁵ And Jesus cursed him and the teacher fell and died.

¹³⁵ *Syr* lacks the mention of Joseph's grief and impotence. In *Lm* the dilemma is the result of Joseph's assistant cutting one piece too short.

¹³⁶ *Syr* lacks Jesus' instructions and Joseph's subsequent obedience, but *Lm* follows *Gs* fairly closely.

¹³⁷ *Syr* and *Lm* lack "do not be distressed." The entire saying is lacking in *Ga*.

¹³⁸ The early versions lack Joseph's physical and verbal response to the miracle. *Gb* adds here a short epilogue after which the text concludes.

¹³⁹ *Syr* and *Eth* have "seeing that he was clever."

¹⁴⁰ *Gac* add here: "And the teacher said to Joseph: 'Which letters do you wish me to teach him?' And Joseph said: 'First the Greek and then the Hebrew.' For the teacher knew the experience of the child and was afraid of him."

¹⁴¹ "Writing for him the alphabet" is lacking in the early versions.

¹⁴² *Syr* alone (and not *Lm* as in ch. 6) has the Semitic "aleph." *Syr* and *Eth* then add "and the scribe next wanted him to say beth ('beta' *Eth*)." The teacher utters no command in *Gac*; they read instead: "He furnished the elements for him for a long time. And Jesus, saying nothing, did not answer him."

¹⁴³ *Gac* lack "first" and add "if you are indeed a teacher and know full well the letters."

3. And the boy went to his home to his parents.¹⁴⁶ And Joseph, calling his mother, commanded her: "Do not let him out of the house so that those who make him angry may not die."¹⁴⁷

XIV. 1. And after several days,¹⁴⁸ again another teacher said to his father Joseph.¹⁴⁹ "Come, brother,¹⁵⁰ give¹⁵¹ him to me into the school¹⁵² so that with flattery¹⁵³ I might be able to teach him letters."¹⁵⁴ And Joseph said to him: "If you are confident, brother, lead him off with salvation."¹⁵⁵ And the teacher, taking the boy by the hand, led him away with much fear and concern. And the boy went gladly.¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁴ Only *Lm* agrees with *Gs* on the order of the letters. *Syr* and *Lv* have the more likely order of "alpha (aleph)...beta (beth)." *Eth* reads "show me what are alpha and beta." *Gac* also reflect the order of letters from the versions but they have Jesus ask to hear the "power of alpha."

¹⁴⁵ *Lv* and *Gac* adds "on the head."

¹⁴⁶ Jesus went "to his family" in *Syr*, "to the house of his parents" in *Eth*, and "to his mother" in *Lm*. *Ga* has "Joseph's house," *Gc* "his house."

¹⁴⁷ *Eth* reads "so that if he curses someone, this person would not die." *Syr*, and similarly *Lm*, differs from *Gs* only by reading "struck him" for "make him angry."

¹⁴⁸ The early versions have no such reference to a span of time between this episode and the one previous. *Lm*, however, is ambiguous with "again, a third time."

¹⁴⁹ *Lm* lacks the following dialogue between Joseph and the teacher.

¹⁵⁰ "Come, brother" is lacking in the early versions and *Gabc*. The redactor may be influenced here by the language in ch. 6.

¹⁵¹ For "give" *Syr* has "hand over" which more closely reflects *Gc*'s παράδος.

¹⁵² The early versions and *Gc* lack "into the school."

¹⁵³ *Eth* lacks "with flattery."

¹⁵⁴ "Letters" is lacking in the early versions; *Eth* adds "suitably." *Gac* add "For it is proper that he, being a sensible boy and having understanding, know letters."

¹⁵⁵ "With salvation" is variously represented in the Greek tradition as "with joy" (*Gc*), "with you" (*Ga*), and "with caution, awe, and effort" (*Sl*).

¹⁵⁶ These two sentences are lacking in the early versions. However, *Eth* begins v. 2 with the less detailed "he took the Lord Jesus," and *Syr* with "so Joseph took him to the teacher."

2. And going into the school he found a book lying on the lectern.¹⁵⁷ And taking it, he would not read what was written in it (because it was not from God's law)¹⁵⁸ but, opening his mouth, he quoted such terrifying words¹⁵⁹ that the teacher sitting opposite¹⁶⁰ listened to everything with pleasure¹⁶¹ and encouraged him so that he might say more,¹⁶² and the crowd standing there was amazed at his holy words.¹⁶³

3. And Joseph quickly ran to the school¹⁶⁴ suspecting this teacher was no longer inexperienced and that he may have suffered.¹⁶⁵ But the teacher said to Joseph: "May you know, brother, that I took your boy as a student (but) he is full of much grace and wisdom.¹⁶⁶ Therefore, brother, lead him away into your house with salvation."¹⁶⁷

¹⁵⁷ *Syr* has "he took a roll and was reading," and *Eth* has "took a book and read." In *Lm*'s more elaborate telling, Jesus "took the book from the hand of the tutor teaching the law, and in the sight and hearing of all the people, began to read."

¹⁵⁸ This explanation, lacking in all other witnesses, implies that Jesus had the ability to read but would not read from this, presumably, non-biblical text (or, that he is making a distinction between "the Law" and "God's law").

¹⁵⁹ *Syr*, *Lm*, and *Gac* report instead "Jesus spoke by the (*Gac* add "Holy") Spirit (*Lm*: "Spirit of the Living God") and taught the law." *Eth* is characteristically less miraculous, reading "and recited by heart that which he had read."

¹⁶⁰ In the early versions the teacher "fell to the ground."

¹⁶¹ *Syr(B)* alone has the similar "and wonder and astonishment took hold of him by reason of the things which he heard from the boy."

¹⁶² *Eth* has instead "and implored him." *Lm* has "and adored him."

¹⁶³ *Gs* is rather brief here when compared to the other witnesses. *Gac* have: "when a great crowd gathered, they marveled at the ripeness (*Gc*: "holiness") of his teaching and (*Ga* adds "readiness of") his words (*Gc*: "speech") that being a child he said such things." The early versions more closely support the longer reading. *Eth* and *Syr* read: "many of the people were gathered there. They conversed with him so that all those who lived there were amazed (*Syr* adds "and Jesus opened his mouth and spoke so that they might wonder and be astonished)," and *Lm* has "but the heart of the people who sat and heard him saying such things was filled with astonishment."

¹⁶⁴ "To the school" is lacking in the early versions.

¹⁶⁵ Joseph's suspicion is variously represented in the witnesses. *Syr* has "was afraid lest this scribe would also strike Jesus and would also die," and *Eth* and *Lm* read "fearing lest the master should die." *Gc* is silent here, while *Ga* lacks "and that he may have suffered."

¹⁶⁶ In the early versions, the sentence reads, "it is not a disciple that you have given to me but it is a teacher."

4. And¹⁶⁸ he said to the teacher: "Because you spoke true and testified true, on account of you also the one struck down shall be saved." And immediately that teacher also was saved.¹⁶⁹ And he took the boy and led him away to his house.

XV. 1. And James went¹⁷⁰ into the forest¹⁷¹ to tie up sticks that they might make bread.¹⁷² And Jesus went with him. And while they were gathering the sticks, a miscreant¹⁷³ snake bit James on his hand.¹⁷⁴

2. And wracked with pain and dying,¹⁷⁵ the boy James ran to Jesus¹⁷⁶ and¹⁷⁷ he blew on the bite. Immediately the bite was healed and the snake was destroyed.¹⁷⁸ And James stood up.¹⁷⁹

¹⁶⁷ This sentence is lacking in the early versions. For "with salvation," *Gc* has "with joy," while *Ga* is silent.

¹⁶⁸ *Gac* add "the boy, hearing the things said by him (the teacher) to Joseph, immediately laughed (*Gc*: "grinned") at him."

¹⁶⁹ Jesus' words and the subsequent restoration of the teacher are lacking in the versions. The silence implies that the previous teacher was not restored or, perhaps better, redeemed. For "saved," *Gac* have "healed."

¹⁷⁰ In all other witnesses James is sent by Joseph.

¹⁷¹ "Into the forest," Voicu's translation (emendation?) of the problematic εἰς τὴν ἄπην, is unique to *Gs*.

¹⁷² No purpose is provided for the wood in the early versions. *Ga* has instead "and bring it into the house," and *Gc* has "for the furnace."

¹⁷³ "Miscreant" is lacking in all other sources.

¹⁷⁴ *Eth* and *Lm* add "who fainted."

¹⁷⁵ This clause is lacking in the early versions.

¹⁷⁶ *Syr* and *Ga* have Jesus approach James. *Eth* and *Lm* are silent.

¹⁷⁷ The early versions insert "he did nothing but (*Syr* adds "stretch out his hand to him and")."

¹⁷⁸ *Syr* has "dried up," and *Eth* and *Lm* have "died."

¹⁷⁹ *Eth* and *SyrW* lack this sentence. *SyrB*, however, reads "but James was healed and lived," while *Lm* finishes with an expansion.

XVI.¹⁸⁰ 1. Again, when a certain young man was splitting wood into equal pieces,¹⁸¹ he split the bottom of his foot. He died from loss of blood.

2. A commotion arose and Jesus rushed there. Forcing his way through the crowd, he took hold of the stricken foot and immediately it was healed. And he said to the young man: "Go,¹⁸² split your wood."¹⁸³

3. Seeing,¹⁸⁴ the crowd marveled and said: "For he saved many souls from death. And he can bestow salvation all the days of his life."¹⁸⁵

XVII. 1. And when Jesus was twelve his parents traveled, according to custom, to Jerusalem for the feast of Passover.¹⁸⁶ And when they returned, Jesus stayed behind in Jerusalem but his parents did not know this, for they thought him to be in their group of travelers.¹⁸⁷

2. They went a day's journey¹⁸⁸ and they looked for him among their kinsmen and their acquaintances. And not finding him,¹⁸⁹ they returned to Jerusalem searching for him. And

¹⁸⁰ This episode is found only in *Gabc* and *Gs*. In *Gabc* it is inserted after chapter nine (= *Gb* 8).

¹⁸¹ "Into equal pieces" is found only in *Gs*, and the reading is far from certain. Voicu ("Verso") reads here the more problematic ἐκαίου (he was burning).

¹⁸² *Gabc* have "rise."

¹⁸³ *Gac* add "and remember me."

¹⁸⁴ *Ga* adds "what had happened," and *Gc* adds "the sign that Jesus did."

¹⁸⁵ The crowd's words here are moved to the end of ch. 18 in *Gac*. In their place *Gac* have "truly God dwells in this child." In *Gb* the crowd say nothing but they "embrace him." *Gs*' version of the response seems to begin mid-sentence. When the words occur in *Gac* the MSS insert at the start "this child is from heaven."

¹⁸⁶ The early versions and *Ga* add "and when the Passover was passed (*Eth*: "having arrived they celebrated the feast and") they returned to their own house (*Lv*: "own country")." Luke (2:43) and *Gc* lead into the next sentence with, "and when the day was finished...."

¹⁸⁷ For "in their group of travelers" *Eth* has "behind them on the path."

¹⁸⁸ *Eth* reads instead "They arrived in their land."

after three days¹⁹⁰ they found him in the Temple sitting in the middle of the teachers listening to them and questioning them.¹⁹¹ And the ones listening to him were amazed how he taught¹⁹² the elders¹⁹³ and explained the main points of the Law and the riddles and the parables of the prophets.¹⁹⁴

3. And his mother said to him: "Child, why did you do this to us? Look, worrying and grieving, we searched for you." And Jesus said to them: "Why did you search for me? Did you not know that I must be in my father's place?"¹⁹⁵

4. And the scribes and the Pharisees said to Mary: "Are you this child's mother?" And she said: "I am."¹⁹⁶ And they said to her: "Blessed are you,¹⁹⁷ for the Lord God has blessed the fruit of your womb.¹⁹⁸ For he has established such wisdom and glory of virtue as we have neither known nor have ever heard."¹⁹⁹

5. And rising from there Jesus followed his mother and was subject to his parents. And she treasured up all these things, considering them in her heart. And Jesus advanced in wisdom and age and grace before God and humans. To whom be the glory [forever, amen].

¹⁸⁹ *Gac* add "they were distressed."

¹⁹⁰ *Eth* begins: "In the seventh hour."

¹⁹¹ *Eth* diminishes the Jesus' cognitive abilities here, reading instead that the doctors "listened to him and interrogated him."

¹⁹² In *Syr* Jesus "brought to silence" the teachers.

¹⁹³ The "elders" are "priests" in *Eth*, and "teachers" in *Syr*. *Gac* have "elders and teachers (*Gc* adds "of the law")."

¹⁹⁴ The lore explained by Jesus is listed in the early versions as "the parables (*Eth*: "scriptures") of the prophets and the mysteries and allegories which are in the law (*Eth*: "the symbols hidden in the law")."

¹⁹⁵ For "in the place of my father" *Eth* has "with my father."

¹⁹⁶ Mary's reply is lacking in *Syr* and *Eth*.

¹⁹⁷ *Gac* add "among women" thereby approaching closer to the wording of Luke 1:42.

¹⁹⁸ *Syr* shortens the sentence to "the Lord has blessed you."

¹⁹⁹ "He has established" is lacking in the other witnesses.

CHAPTER 5

Development, Origin, and Transmission

The review of the MS evidence for IGT clearly shows that the extant early versions bring the form of the text back to a time long before that of the Greek MSS. From the witness of the Syriac tradition we know that a fifteen-chapter collection of the childhood tales existed as late as the sixth century. We do not know with any certainty, however, what form the text had at the time of its composition, nor who was responsible for its creation. On these issues the physical evidence is silent. Any answers to questions on the origins of IGT must come instead from what can be learned from the narrative itself as well as from indications of patristic knowledge of the stories. Ultimately, there is sufficient reason to believe that IGT was composed some time in the second or perhaps third century by an author/compiler—and for an audience—of no particular sectarian allegiance. As shocking as IGT's Jesus may seem to readers today, he fit comfortably into the thoughtworld of the average early Christian reader. He was familiar enough also to other writers who incorporated IGT's stories into their texts and to several patristic authors who seem to have had no objection to the Jesus depicted in the stories, only to how the gospel contradicts John's claim that the Cana miracle was "the first of his signs" (2:11). Even later Christians who continued to circulate the text appear to have had few reservations about its content. To be sure, the transmission history of IGT testifies to efforts of well-meaning scribes to bring IGT's Jesus into conformity with the Jesus of the

Church, but much of what modern readers see as offensive remains intact. Still, these revisions do present obstacles for determining such issues as the text's theme, plot, christology, and origins. But by removing the successive layers of modification, we can arrive closer to the text of IGT as it was meant to be read.

5.1 Original Form: Short and Long Recensions.

IGT, like many noncanonical works, is extant in a number of different forms. It stretches from the shortest reading of the text found complete in the Syriac MSS, through the nineteen-chapter Greek MSS, to the longer *Gc/Lt* text with its Egyptian Prologue. It is the task of interested scholars to determine which of these forms, if any, reaches back to the text's origins. The work of van Rompay and Voicu on the early versions has shown convincingly that the text is best represented in a "shorter" recension. If so, this leaves the Greek MSS in a secondary position. Voicu went so far as to argue that all of the extant Greek MSS are hopelessly interpolated and even eliminates them from consideration for recovering the original text.¹ This situation is regrettable given that IGT was likely composed in Greek. It is the position of the present work that Voicu seriously underestimates the value of the earliest Greek MS: *H (Gs)*. Though certainly interpolated, *Gs* is extremely close to the form and readings of the shorter recension. This makes it an ideal base for a new critical edition of the text.

¹ Voicu, "Verso," 24. Voicu considered the Greek tradition so fruitless that he chose not to examine the unpublished MSS listed by Noret (except, that is, for *H*).

5.1.1 Language of Composition

Any theory which endeavours to explain the relationships between the various traditions of IGT must begin with a determination of the text's language of origin. Of all the forms in which IGT is extant—Greek, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Latin, Georgian, and Slavonic—only two of these are serious possibilities: Greek and Syriac. While the Latin text is certainly early—perhaps the fifth century—it is rare indeed for a Latin text to achieve such esteem for it to be translated into Greek in the first several centuries C.E. As for Arabic, Ethiopic, Georgian, and Slavonic, Christian literature reached their respective cultures at somewhat later times than the period in which IGT was likely composed.² Therefore, it is most likely that IGT was composed in Greek. Indeed, all gospel-related texts appear to have been written in that language.³ Furthermore, it was exceedingly rare for an originally non-Greek text to be translated into Greek; Greek and Latin readers were not particularly receptive to literature of other cultures.⁴ Well aware of these

² The NT was translated into Georgian in the first half of the fourth century, into Armenian in the fifth century, and Ethiopic as early as the fourth century. For more information see Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (3d enl. ed.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 82–84. The Arabic versions of IGT are believed to derive from the Syriac tradition (see, for example, Peeters, "Introduction," vii; Cullmann, "Infancy Gospels²," 256; Noja, "L'Évangile arabe," 682–85; and Voicu, "Histoire," 193 n. 3; idem, "Verso," 37), and the Slavonic from the Greek (see de Santos, *Kirchenslavische*, 5–8; Rosén, *The Slavonic Translation*, 25).

³ With few exceptions, none of the early texts discussed in the Schneemelcher NT Apocrypha collection are said to have been composed in a language other than Greek. The original languages of the *Strasbourg Coptic Papyrus* (see pp. 103–5) and the *Gospel of the Nazaraeans* (pp. 154–65) are left open to question, and only one text, the *Abgar Legend*, is believed to have been composed in Syriac (pp. 492–500; and see the discussion below). The later infancy gospels (*Ps.-Mt.*, and *Arab. Gos. Inf.*) may have incorporated non-Greek as well as Greek sources, and the *Gospel of Gamaliel*, also a late composition (5–6th century), likely was composed in Coptic (pp. 558–60).

⁴ See Sebastian Brock, "Greek into Syriac and Syriac into Greek," *Journal of the Syriac Academy* 3 (1977): 11.

considerations, writers on IGT almost unanimously believe Greek to be the original language of the gospel.

Nevertheless, a Syriac origin has been championed by a few scholars, and several others have abstained from making unequivocal statements on the text's language of composition. Cowper and Nicolas long ago suggested Syrian origin for IGT principally because of what they characterized as deplorable style in the Greek text.⁵ Variot, too, had difficulty deciding between the two languages.⁶ But the first scholar to advance seriously a theory of Syriac composition was Peeters.⁷ He believed that IGT, *Arab. Gos. Inf.*, and *Arm. Gos. Inf.* all derive from a Syriac infancy gospel preserved in Budge's *Life of Mary*. According to the hypothesis, the Syriac IGT was excised from this text in the fifth century and translated first (perhaps) into Greek and from Greek into the languages of the other versions. As evidence for his theory Peeters cited common errors and variants found in both *Syr* (*W* and *P*) and the Old Latin tradition (*Lm* and *Lv*) but not the Greek tradition. Noteworthy among these is the presence of the Semitic letters *aleph* and *beth* in the *Teacher* stories rather than *alpha* and *omega* as in all other readings of the tales. Most subsequent scholars were not kind to Peeters. Several criticized him for merely asserting, not proving, his theory. Nevertheless, the theory received support from several French writers and has been considered as at least a possibility by others. Doubtless the attractiveness of the hypothesis can be attributed to the perceived prominence of the apostle Thomas in Syrian-related literature.

Peeters' theory of Syriac composition endures not because of its cogency, but because few scholars have been willing or able to refute it. Apparently, secure evidence

⁵ Nicolas, *Études*, 331; Cowper, *The Apocryphal Gospels*, 128.

⁶ Variot, *Les évangiles apocryphes*, 45–46.

of translation in either direction is difficult to find. De Santos, for one, believed he had discredited the hypothesis by demonstrating that *Syr*'s "fruit of life of the judgement" (see *Gs* 8:1a) was derived from the corrupt phrase ἵνα τοὺς κάτω ῥύσωμαι found in Tischendorf's MSS.⁸ The corruption, however, occurs in *Ga* 8:1b, a sentence not attested in the versions; therefore, it is unlikely to be the source of *Syr*'s odd reading. To date, the only scholar to offer a sustained argument against Syriac origin is Sever Voicu. In "Verso,"⁹ he listed three indications in the text of Greek composition: 1. the letter speculation section in *Ga* 6:10 features a number of neologisms which may be formed naturally in Greek but not in Semitic languages like Syriac; 2. the Semitic letters used in *Syr* and the Old Latin witnesses (*Gs* 6:9) are not evidence of Syriac composition but of a common variant shared by the two traditions;¹⁰ and 3. the Greek title of the text uses the term παιδικά, a word unique to Greek and difficult to translate—the versions, including *Syr*, variously simplify the term as "childhood." Unfortunately, Voicu's arguments are far from an unequivocal resolution of the question. Indeed, only the first of these comes close to making a case for Greek composition.

Syriac origin, therefore, remains open to question, despite the fact that Peeters neglected to offer much proof of the theory. And it is rather unlikely. First, the Thomas attribution, clearly a late addition to the text, can no longer be used to associate IGT with Syria. And second, translation from Syriac, or any Semitic language, to Greek is quite

⁷ Peeters, "Introduction," xvii–xxii.

⁸ De Santos, *Kirchenslavische*, 150 n. 8.

⁹ Voicu, "Verso," 53–55.

¹⁰ Neither *Eth* nor *Geo* contain this variation nor do the second-century witnesses to the story, *Ep. Apos.* 4 and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.20.1 (see 2.1.1.1 and 2.1.2.1 above). Voicu attributed the presence of the Hebrew letters to a revision made for the sake of verisimilitude. A similar, and apparently independent, alteration is found in the Greek *P* MS.

unusual. Sebastian Brock was able to list only a few texts to achieve such distinction.¹¹ Of these, the *Septuagint* and the Ahikar stories (incorporated into the Greek *Life of Aesop*) are most noteworthy. As for Christian-penned literature, there appears to be no early gospel-related text that was composed in a language other than Greek. Some apocryphal writings of the second to fourth centuries, however, do appear in Brock's list, including: the *Odes of Solomon* (extant in Greek and Syriac), the *Book of the Laws of the Countries* by the disciples of Bardaisan of Edessa (excerpted in *Ps.-Clem.* and in Eusebius' *Demonstration of the Gospel*), and the Abgar correspondence (translated by Eusebius himself and reproduced in *Hist. eccl.* 1.13). *Acts Thom.* may have been composed in Syriac also but the question of its composition has yet to be resolved. Later centuries saw hymns and hagiography translated into Greek, as well as the writings of Ephrem, Aphrahat, and other prominent Syrian authors. Clearly, examples of Syriac to Greek translation are indeed few. Of the Christian writings, the undoubtedly Syriac-composed texts are either relatively late compositions (Ephrem, Aphrahat) or have no literary affinities with IGT (Bardaisan, *Odes of Solomon*, *Acts Thom.*). Only the *Abgar Legend* can be considered a gospel-related text, though it too was written relatively late (end of the 3d century).¹² Syriac composition for IGT, therefore, is rendered implausible. But it is not impossible.

One avenue remains available, however, for demonstrating Greek composition. NT scholars interested in proving or disproving a Semitic original behind a Greek text believe the presence of a great number of Semitic idioms within the text may indicate

¹¹ Brock, "Greek into Syriac," 11–16.

¹² H. J. W. Drijvers, "The Abgar Legend," in *New Testament Apocrypha*, Vol. 1, *Gospels and Related Writings* (ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, trans. R. McL. Wilson; rev. ed.; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1991), 1:494–97.

translation into Greek.¹³ Such a methodology has been employed fruitfully in establishing the original language of *Q*,¹⁴ for which an Aramaic original often is assumed, and may be useful for determining whether or not *G_s*, believed here to be the earliest of the Greek recensions of IGT (see below section 5.1.3), was translated from Syriac.

Raymond Martin offered 17 criteria by which one can determine whether a text was composed in Greek or translated from a Semitic source.¹⁵ He cautioned, however, that some Semitisms are to be expected particularly in Jewish, Jewish-Christian, and Christian texts, but a high frequency of Semitic usages is indicative of translation.¹⁶ The first eight of Martin's criteria involve the high usage of *ἐν* in translation Greek. Original Greek texts use a greater variety of prepositions than translation Greek. By these criteria, *G_s* meets well the expectations of Greek composition.¹⁷ *G_s* also agrees with original

¹³ Nigel Turner, *Grammatical Insights into the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1965), 175; Raymond A. Martin, *Syntactical Evidence of Semitic Sources in Greek Documents* (Septuagint and Cognate Studies 3; Cambridge, Mass: Society of Biblical Literature, 1974), 1.

¹⁴ See particularly John S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 51–64; and Nigel Turner, "Q in Recent Thought," *ExpTim* 80 (1968–1969): 324–28. For an overview of the scholarship see Heinz O. Guenther, "The Sayings Gospel Q and the Quest for Aramaic Sources: Rethinking Christian Origins," *Semeia* 55 (1992): 41–76.

¹⁵ Martin, *Syntactical Evidence*, 5–43.

¹⁶ Ibid, 1 citing Turner, *Grammatical Insights*, 175. *G_s* fails in only one of Martin's criteria: number 11 which states that original Greek has few dependent genitives which precede the words on which they depend. *G_s* consistently adheres to Semitic usage but this practice is found so often in NT Greek that its presence in *G_s* is not significant.

¹⁷ Material from *G_s* not found in *Syr* (*G_s* 10:2, 11:2, 12:2, and 14:4) was excluded from this analysis. So too was *Jesus in the Temple* which reflects the syntax of Luke and is, incidentally, more Semitic than the rest of the Greek text. The theory of Greek composition for IGT is supported when the frequency of uses for the prepositions are higher than their typical use in translation Greek. The statistics are as follows (the numbers in parentheses represent the frequency of usage for each preposition as compared to *ἐν* in texts known to be translated from Greek): *διὰ* with genitive=0 (.06–.01); *διὰ* in all occurrences=0.63 (.18–.01); *εἰς*=2.13 (.49–.01); *κατὰ* with accusative=0.125 (.18–.01); *κατὰ* in all occurrences=0.125 (.19–.01); *περί*=0.25 (0.27–

Greek usage in the relative frequency of $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ compared to copulative $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$,¹⁸ the percentage of separated articles from their substantives,¹⁹ the infrequency of dependent genitive personal pronouns,²⁰ the infrequency of absent articles for nouns with genitive pronouns,²¹ the frequency of adjectives in first attributive position,²² the frequency of the adverbial participle,²³ and the frequency of the dative case without $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$.²⁴ In addition, *Gs* infrequently follows the typical Semitic Verb-Subject word order²⁵ and, like other texts composed in Greek, often uses the genitive absolute.²⁶

IGT's use of Luke 2:41–52, *Jesus in the Temple*, bolsters the case for Greek composition. The text as it stands in *Gs* 17 follows very closely that of the major MSS of

.01); $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ with dative=0 (.024–.01); $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{o}$ with genitive=0.38 (.07–.01). The frequency of usage for some of these prepositions falls within or below that of translation Greek but the frequency is far above the range for translation Greek for $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ (usage in translated Greek works rarely reaches as high as .27), and $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{o}$.

¹⁸ Translation Greek has more than two $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ copulative for every $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ (original Greek will have less $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ than copulative $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$). *Gs* has 49 $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ and 53 $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$. *Gs* also employs $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ every 1 in 8 verses compared to about 1 in 10 verses for original Greek and 1 in 15 for LXX Gen, 1 in 13 for Exod, and 1 in 350 in the prophets (Turner, "Q in Recent Thought," 326).

¹⁹ *Gs* has 18% of its articles separated from their substantives compared to 4% in translated works in the LXX and 18% in the NT epistles.

²⁰ The dependent genitive personal pronoun occurs once for every 10 lines in *Gs*, compared to once in 3.9 in LXX Gen, and once in 16.5 in Josephus (*Ag. Ap., Ant.*).

²¹ Translated Greek tends to omit the articles. *Gs* has no instances of this practice.

²² *Gs* contains nine times as many first attributive adjectives as second attributive adjectives (compare LXX Gen at 0.14 and Josephus [*Ag. Ap., Ant.*] at 5.6). However, the frequency of attributive adjectives in *Gs* is rather small (1 for every 36 lines compared to LXX Gen at 15.3 and Josephus [*Ag. Ap., Ant.*] at 4.7).

²³ Adverbial participles occur once for every six lines in *Gs* compared to once in every 15.9 in LXX Gen and once in 3.2 for Josephus (*Ag. Ap., Ant.*).

²⁴ Translation Greek usually has a one-to-one correspondence between datives expressed with $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ and those without. *Gs* has 2.6 times as many datives without $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$.

²⁵ *Gs* has 1 in 7.7 clauses following Verb-Subject word order while *SyrW* has 1 in 3.2 clauses. Regarding word order as an indication of Greek composition see Turner, *Grammatical Insights*, 185.

²⁶ The genitive absolute appears eight times in *Gs*. The construction is rare in translated Greek (Turner, *Grammatical Insights*, 177).

Luke, at times agreeing in particular with MSS of the Family 1 group and the minuscule MS 1071, and featuring the reading καὶ λυπούμενοι (*Gs* 17:3/Luke 2:48) found otherwise only in Codex Bezae (D) and other witnesses to the Western text (Old Latin, the Curetonian Syriac, the *Peshitta*, and the Arabic *Diatessaron*). Additions to the story found in IGT occur after Luke 2:47 and 49. The syntactic correspondence between *Gs* and Luke is most pronounced in the parallels to Luke 2:43–47 and 52; here the two agree verbatim. These agreements indicate that at some point in its transmission IGT drew upon a Greek version of Luke's story. Unfortunately, it cannot be said with any certainty that the original author of the text used Greek Luke; the verbal agreements may result from the process of correcting IGT to Luke. This could have occurred at any point between IGT's composition and the creation of the *Gs* MS.

The pattern of verbal agreements between *Syr* and Old Syriac Luke is similar to their Greek counterparts.²⁷ However, *Syr* departs more often from Old Syriac Luke than *Gs* does from Greek Luke—the parallels to Luke 2:43, 44a, and 47 are quite different in *Syr*. Given the diminished ability of Syriac to vary word order, the verses with close verbal correspondence (2:44b–46, 49, 52) may be the result of mere chance, or the work of such typical scribal practices as assimilation (through memory) and correction (by visual comparison) to the canonical text. In any case, it seems unlikely that *Syr* employed Old Syriac Luke. Even the Western text variant in 2:48 is more a paraphrase of the Greek than a copy of the Curetonian Syriac reading. So whatever source *Syr* used for its version of *Jesus in the Temple*, it must have contained the Western variant, and given *Syr*'s poor verbal agreement with other Syriac versions of Luke 2, its *Temple* story likely was not

²⁷ Baars and Heldermann, "Neue Materielen," 27–30 detail the correspondences between *Syr* and the various Syriac translations of Luke.

derived directly from a Syriac translation of the third gospel. The most likely candidate for this source would appear to be a Greek IGT much like *G_s*.

As satisfying as it would be to bid farewell to the Syriac composition theory, the evidence does not allow for an unequivocal statement on IGT's language of origin. *G_s* bears all the marks of Greek composition but there is no way to be certain that *G_s*, like *G_b* and *G_c*, does not represent a revision of an earlier Greek text. Even if *G_s* does represent well the syntax of the original, its lack of Semitic idioms may indicate only that a Greek translator opted not to translate a Syriac original in the word-for-word style used by the LXX translators. Nevertheless, the burden of proof for Syriac origin lies with those who would make that claim. In doing so they must account for the rarity of Syriac to Greek translation (particularly for early Christian gospel literature), for *Syr*'s numerous departures from the Syriac text of Luke, and for the awkward proliferation of participles used in *Syr*'s version of the letter speculation section. Given the evidence, Greek composition is a far more economical solution to the problem.

5.1.2 The Short Recension

Despite all the evidence for Greek composition of IGT the best witnesses to its original form are in fact not written in Greek. All extant Greek MSS of IGT appear to have been interpolated over the course of the text's transmission. The early versions, however, each derive from a stage in IGT's history before the corpus of stories was expanded. It is believed that these versions all bear witness to the existence of an early short recension of the text. The short recension theory can be traced in scholarship as far back as 1903 when Donehoo observed that certain chapters of the text (*G_{ac}* 10 [= *G_b* 9],

17 and 18) were absent in *Ps.-Mt. (Lm)*, *SyrW*, and *Arab. Gos. Inf.*²⁸ Decades later, Gero noted the formal similarities between these three tales and how well they, and they alone, correspond to the form of Synoptic miracle stories.²⁹ He believed also that *Syr* and *Geo* were superior witnesses to the text's original form.³⁰ The full expression of the notion of a common, early origin of the known versions was made by van Rompay in his 1980 article on the text. The theory is based on the versions' distinct arrangement of the stories as well as shared readings within the tales. As the following chart indicates, *Syr*, *Eth*, *Geo* and the Old Latin tradition all agree, with minor variations, in a form of the text comprising chapters *Ga* 2–9, 11–16, and 19.

<i>Syr</i>	<i>Lm</i>	<i>Lv</i> †	<i>Ir</i>	<i>Eth</i> ‡	<i>Geo</i> §
2	2	2	2	2	2
3	3		3	3	3
4	4		4	4	4
5	5	5	5	5	5
6	6		6	6	6
7	7	7	7	7	7
8	8	8	8	8	
9	9	9	9	9	
11	11		11		
12	12			[12]	
13	13		13	13	
14	14	14		14	
15	15			15	
16	16			16	
19		19		19	

† *Lv* is fragmentary.

‡ *Eth* places ch. 12, with the *Sunbeam* story, after ch. 19.

§ *Geo* breaks off following ch. 7.

The closest correspondence between the versions is found in *Syr* and *Eth*. But, given that *Lm*, *Lv*, and *Ir* derive from a common Old Latin translation of the text (see above 3.2.1),

²⁸ Donehoo, *The Apocryphal and Legendary Life of Christ*, 139.

²⁹ Gero, "The Infancy Gospel of Thomas," 60.

their combined evidence indicates that their ancestor contained the same arrangement of tales as *Syr* and *Eth*. The original extent of the fragmentary *Geo* cannot be determined, though it certainly lacks *Ga* 1. Fortunately, the argument for close kinship between the versions is not based on form alone but also on shared readings. Three of these readings are sufficient to prove the point. The first is found in *Ga* 5. Here Jesus answers Joseph's reproof with:

- Gac*³¹ I know that these words of yours are not mine but yours.
Nevertheless, I shall be silent for your sake.
- Syr* If the words of my father were not wise, he would not know how to instruct children.
- Geo* Your words are sufficient in wisdom. I have learned / I know that (you) are setting those children on the path.
- Eth* If the people had not known the word of the wisdom of my father, they would not know the punishment of their children. What's more, he has revealed to them that which is concealed, in order to make them understand.
- Lv* If these words were not wise...(terminates in a lacuna).
- Lm* No son is wise save he whom his father has taught according to the knowledge of this time.
- Ir* Anyone who is innocent does not die from judgements.

Though there is considerable variety among the witnesses, the versions clearly agree more with one another than they do with *Gac*. The only exception is *Ir*; however, as a poetic paraphrase of a Latin translation, *Ir* cannot be expected to agree in detail with its relatives, particularly in the more esoteric sections of the text (i.e., the sayings material). The tie between the versions is observable also in their distinct version of the speech from chapter six. It begins:

³⁰ Ibid, 55.

³¹ The saying is absent in *Gb*.

<i>Gac†</i>	<i>Syr</i>	<i>Geo</i>	<i>Eth</i>	<i>Lm†</i>
Truly teacher, all that my father has said to you is true. And to these people, I am Lord. But you are strangers, for to me alone has been given the authority. I am from before the ages and now I am present and I have been born among you and I am with you. And you do not know who I am. But I know whence you are and whence you came, and how many years is your life.	These words which you have spoken, and these names which you name, I am a stranger to them; for I am outside of you, and I am within you. Honour in the flesh I have not.	From those words of yours, teacher, which you now speak of, I judge myself a stranger. Because I am outside of you and inside you, because a certain noble birth as flesh is with me.	Amongst the words that you have said, teacher, you have named a strange thing. I am different from you; I do not possess like you a family of flesh.	The precepts of the law which you mentioned a little while ago, and all that you have named, must be kept by those who are taught by the rules of men; but I am from outside (the things) of yours, because I have no carnal parent.

† The speech is mostly absent in *Gb*.

† *Lv* and *Ir* preserve none of the speech.

And finally, the Greek tradition contains a different version of the cursing of Annas

in *Gac* 3:2–3 (= *Gb* 2:2–3):

<i>Syr-Geo-Eth- Lm-Ir</i>	<i>Ga</i>	<i>Gc</i>	<i>Gb</i>
And, seeing what he did, Jesus said to him: "Your fruit shall be without root and your shoot dried up like a branch (<i>Syr</i> adds "which is broken by the wind and is no more"; <i>Geo</i> adds "consumed with a root through the power of the spirit of Ion")." And immediately that child withered.	And, seeing what had happened, Jesus was angry and said to him: "Wicked, impious and foolish, what harm did the pools and water to you? Behold, even now you are dried up like a tree and will by no means bring forth leaves nor root nor fruit." And immediately that child withered completely. And Jesus departed and went into his house. And the parents of the withered one took him up bewailing his youth. And they came to Joseph and reproached	And, seeing this thing that had been done, he was angry over it and said: "Sodomite, impious and foolish, what harm did my pools and water to you? Behold, even now you are dried up like a tree and will by no means possess root nor leaves nor fruit." And falling, he withered immediately. And his parents came and found he who had been suddenly struck. And they reproached Joseph saying: "You have such a child and	And, turning, Jesus said to him: "Impious and wicked, what harm did the pools to you that you have emptied them?" You shall no longer go on your way and you shall be dried up like the branch which you carry." And going a little way, he fainted. And seeing this, the children playing with him were amazed and reported it to the father of the dead boy. Running, he found the dead boy, and went reproaching to Joseph.

*Syr-Geo-Eth-
Lm-Ir*

Ga

him: "You have such a
child doing such
things."

Gc

look what he did to us.
Teach him to bless and
not to curse."

Gb

As the excerpt shows, *Gabc* add an introductory insult and question, and subtly alter the curse. Then they add an epilogue in which the parents of the withered boy reproach Joseph. Several other chapters also feature longer readings in the Greek tradition (*Gac* 5:2, 8:1b, 11:2; 12:2; 13:2, and 15:1, 4). Some of these additions, indeed the entire chapters of *Gac* 12 and 15, are absent from *Gb* but they may have been present in the text which the redactor of *Gb* abbreviated, for, like *Gac*, *Gb* contains *Ga* 1 and 10 and the longer reading of *Ga* 3.

The preceding examples offer firm proof that the versions represent a class apart from *Gabc* and their descendants. Certainly there is much variation among the versions but this is to be expected given the alterations that can occur through transmission and translation. Each of them has journeyed through at least one level of translation from Greek. Two of them, the Syriac and Old Latin traditions, are more intimately connected than the others as they contain the aforementioned common variants. Given the antiquity of these two traditions, the readings in their MSS are particularly significant for reconstructing the original text of IGT. *Geo* and *Eth*, on the other hand, are far less reliable: *Geo*'s readings are difficult to restore, perhaps due to an intermediate Armenian translation; and *Eth* may have had a long transmission history in Greek, Syriac, Arabic, Coptic, and/or Ethiopic before its incorporation into the *Miracles of Jesus* sometime after the fourteenth century.

Nevertheless, Voicu had much confidence in the text of *Eth*. He considered it a witness to a form of IGT earlier than all the other evidence. This opinion is based on the secondary location of the *Miracle of the Harvest*—placed with the *Sunbeam* story after *Ga* 19 therefore reflecting, perhaps, its addition to the text at a later stage in the collection's transmission—and the vastly different reading of *Jesus Stretches a Beam*. In *Eth*'s telling of this story, Jesus merely follows Joseph's instructions for constructing the bed; there is no miraculous stretching of the wood. It is precisely the absence of the prodigy in the *Beam* story that led Voicu to believe *Eth*'s version of the chapter is more original. Yet his argument is far from convincing. *Eth*'s reading ill-suits the miraculous tenor of all the other stories in the text. Furthermore, the Jewish parallel to the tale from *b. Ta'an.* 25, which may have some bearing on the origin of the *Beam* story, reflects the more common form found in the other witnesses. Indeed, *Eth*'s text as a whole is often inferior to readings from the other versions, a fact to which even Voicu conceded—his translation in *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*³² utilized *Syr* and *Geo* far more than it did *Eth*. In sum, the major differences in *Eth*, while curious, appear to be aberrations. Voicu's position notwithstanding, the Ethiopic tradition is clearly too unstable, and the MSS far too late, to trust where it departs from the other versions.

At present the short recension theory seems secure. The weight of the evidence represented by the versions indicates that as late as the fifth century IGT featured only *Ga* 2–9, 11–16, and 19. Absent at this stage are the introduction ascribing the text to Thomas and the Synoptic-style miracle stories of *Ga* 10, 17, and 18. The short recension also contains shorter readings within chapters and a drastically different “revelation

³² Voicu, “Histoire.”

discourse” in chapter six. Compared to Tischendorf’s edition of the text, the versions offer a reading of IGT that is more brief, more unrefined in its presentation of Jesus, and yet also arguably more sophisticated in its christology.

5.1.3 *Gs*: An Intermediary Text

If the versions are indeed superior witnesses to an early form of IGT, scholarship on the text would benefit significantly from the discovery of a Greek MS that agrees with the fifteen-chapter text of the versions. A MS conforming to these expectations has not been found, but *Gs* comes rather close. *Gs* contains *Ga* 1, found otherwise only in the long recension, and *Ga* 10, located in *Gs* between *Ga* 16 and 19. However, readings within the chapters, including those of *Ga* 3, 5 and 6 noted above, agree with the versions. In addition, the *Gac* expansions in chs. 5, 6 and 15 are absent, as are the entire chs. 17 and 18. As Voicu rightly stated in his seminal discussion of the MS, *Gs* appears to represent an intermediate stage in the development of IGT between the short recension of the versions, on the one hand, and the long recension of the later Greek MSS, on the other.³³

Voicu’s assessment of the text, however, needs correction. It is true that *Gs* has been interpolated, but if *Ga* 1 and 10 and several small additions are removed, *Gs* is virtually a Greek witness to the text of the versions. Admittedly, the correspondence between *Gs* and the versions is not perfect; *H* contains some clearly aberrant readings. The curse on the boy in the marketplace (“Cursed be your ruling faculty,” *Gs* 4:1) not only disagrees with all other witnesses to the text but also ill-fits the offense which occasions the punishment. The sayings material in chapter five contains some unique

additions (see *Gs* 5:3). The speech in *Gs* finishes earlier than the versions with the unique saying “And you will bear the name of salvation” (*Gs* 6:4; see also the phrase μετὰ σωτηρίας in *Gs* 14:1, 4). Like *Gac*, *Gs* omits the proverb of the anvil (*Gs* 6:8), and has Zacchaeus place Jesus’ birth “before creation” (7:2) whereas the versions agree that it happened “before the flood of Noah.” *Gs* contains the *Gac* addition of 8:1b. And finally, in an unusual, unique expansion, Zeno returns to death after he exonerates Jesus (*Gs* 9:4). Other, less significant, variations, can be explained as either readings which are original to the text but were altered in the versions, or as part of the natural process of eight centuries of transmission. It is also possible that some of the major variants in *Gs* are, in fact, more representative of the original text, for there is certainly no guarantee that the versions are based on a branch of the tradition any more reliable than *Gs*.

Voicu’s only justification for virtually ignoring *Gs* in his reconstruction of IGT is its addition of *Ga* 1 and 10 and its relatively minor variations from the texts of the versions. His skepticism about the value of *Gs* is unfortunate, as it surely provides us with the best available witness to an early form of the gospel in its language of composition.

5.1.4 The Original Form of the Text

Together, the versions and *Gs* offer us a reasonably secure text that reaches as far back as the fifth century. It remains to be determined, however, how well the short recension reflects the original form of the text. The theory of early scholars that IGT was once a much larger work later expurgated of heretical content has no foundation. Nor

³³ Voicu, “Notes,” 120. See also *idem*, “Verso,” 26–27.

does Voicu's belief that the text once lacked the *Miraculous Harvest* have any merit. In the absence of any material evidence predating the fifth century, we must be content with the form of the text as it stands in Syr: a fifteen-chapter work that begins with Jesus in Nazareth at the age of five and culminates in his appearance in the Temple at twelve. Unfortunately, the characterization of IGT as an unstable text prone to alteration has precluded any serious study of the gospel as a whole. Yet there is sufficient reason to believe that the short recension of IGT preserves well the original contents of the text.³⁴

However, few previous commentators on IGT believed that the gospel even has a story. It has become commonplace in scholarship to describe the text as a loosely strung together collection of orally-circulating tales.³⁵ The presence of several versions of the *Teacher* story has strengthened this assessment. The author has been seen, therefore, as little more than a compiler who, intent on preserving the individual stories in an unaltered state, would rather include multiple readings of a tale than combine them into one.³⁶ Furthermore, scholars have failed to find any observable principle of organization or progression linking the tales aside from the occasional indication of Jesus' age. They are befuddled also by the absence of development in Jesus' character. They expect, like the crowds in the tales, that the *enfant terrible* should turn from cursing to blessing; yet, Jesus' "relapse" in Gs 13 frustrates this expectation.

The need to rehabilitate Jesus is far more a concern of modern readers than it is of the author of IGT. The real transformation in the narrative is made in those around Jesus,

³⁴ For an earlier, and similar, discussion of IGT's structure and theme see Chartrand-Burke, "Authorship," 32-34.

³⁵ See Vielhauer, *Geschichte*, 674; Rebell, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 132; Schneider, *Apokryphe Kindheitsevangelien*, 37; Hock, *The Infancy Gospels*, 85; Voicu, "Histoire," 192; idem, "Verso," 50-51.

not Jesus himself. Like the NT gospels, IGT is the tale of a wonderworker who must demonstrate his authority to the unbelieving masses through wondrous miracles and unearthly teachings. Whenever Jesus demonstrates his abilities, he faces incredulity, even violence, instead of acceptance. Unlike the NT Jesus, however, IGT's Jesus responds in kind, chastising those who oppose him. But once Jesus' neighbours and family begin to see that Jesus is more than mortal, his actions change. The first realization of Jesus' divine nature is made by Zacchaeus. Humbled by the youth, Zacchaeus declares that "this boy is something great, either a god or an angel, or I know not what I might say" (*Gs* 7:4). Thereafter, Jesus performs miracles that benefit his neighbours and family, and that effect a more desirable response from recipients and witnesses. The crowds are amazed at his teachings (*Gs* 14:2; 17:2, 4), and they worship Jesus and praise God (*Gs* 9:4; 17:4). Only when Jesus again encounters opposition, in the second *Teacher* episode, does he revert to cursing instead of blessing. But once the third teacher declares that Jesus is "full of much grace and wisdom" (*Gs* 14:3), Jesus resumes his miracles of healing. This third *Teacher* story illustrates best the proper interpretation of the text. As in folklore, where triplicate episodes are quite common, the third and final version of a tale dictates the behaviour expected from the characters in the narrative. In IGT, this means that people should respond to Jesus not with incredulity or violence, but with belief and praise. At no time does the text suggest that Jesus is rehabilitated; indeed, it is Jesus' teachers, neighbours, and parents who have a lesson to learn here.

This theme of teaching is prevalent in IGT. Indeed, the exchange between Jesus and Zacchaeus occupies a considerable portion of the text. And given the repetition of the

³⁶ See Meyer, "Erzählung des Thomas," 66; Peeters, "Introduction," lii; Mirecki, "The Infancy Gospel of Thomas," 196; Voicu, "Histoire," 192; idem, "Verso," 49 n. 131.

story's principle elements in Gs 13–14, it is quite likely that IGT was built around this key episode. Just as Jesus instructs his teacher in the arcane qualities of the alpha, and ultimately his own otherworldly nature, he teaches the same lesson also to the crowds who witness all of his miracles. Whatever the original form or origin of the childhood tales, some of which may have once been told of the adult Jesus or of other miracleworking adults or children, they are transformed by their inclusion in IGT into declarations of Jesus' power and authority. Luke's *Temple* story, therefore, makes a fitting conclusion to the collection. In it Jesus stands at the religious and political centre of the nation, but where Luke has Jesus sit engrossed as an attentive, curious student, IGT further emphasizes his great knowledge by having him explain *to them* the main points of the Law (Gs 17:2). Perhaps IGT's lesson continues even beyond the conclusion of the narrative. Christians may have seen themselves in the young Jesus, for as a community they too were growing into an awkward childhood, often facing their elders (Judaism, as well as non-Jewish belief systems)³⁷ in conflicts over teachings and practice. IGT's portrayal of Jesus, therefore, may have been intended as a historical allegory, a personification of Christian claims of superiority with the boy's curses devised as a veiled threat aimed at any who would oppose the community.³⁸

³⁷ That Jesus squares off against Jews in IGT need not imply that the text is specifically anti-Jewish. Though certainly Jews alone are injured and, in a sense, "converted" by Jesus, they are rarely identified as such by the author ("Jews" Gs 2:3; 6:5; "Pharisee" 2:5; "High Priest" 3:1; "Scribes and Pharisees" 17:4). The "Jewishness" of the characters is necessitated merely by the context of the story: Jesus' childhood home of Nazareth (see similarly S. Wilson, *Related Strangers*, 84). It may be more important then, as far as IGT is concerned, that Jesus here confronts and overturns the misguided forces around him, that he offers a new teaching superior to all earthly wisdom, and not just that of the Jews.

³⁸ The brief discussion of the text by Moehler (*La patrologie*, 2:569–71) is notable for its treatment of the tales as allegories of Jesus' future activities. Just as his childhood enemies die, his future enemies will die spiritually; and, though they died in sin, Jesus has the power to raise them to new life.

5.2 Origins.

IGT is a mysterious text. It contains no explicit references that could be used to determine its date of composition, no reliable identification of its author, and no hints of a precise geographical origin. Even its christology is puzzling. With few exceptions, theologically-loaded titles such as Messiah, Lord, Christ, or Saviour, are conspicuously absent from the text;³⁹ Jesus is referred to only as τὸ παιδίον Ἰησοῦς. In the absence of such information scholars have relied chiefly on the patristic testimony for reconstructing the composition history of IGT. Unfortunately, the recovery of *Gos. Thom.* has rendered most of that testimony unsuitable. Tischendorf's text, based on the heavily altered MSS *B* and *D*, is also a flawed avenue for determining the origins of the gospel. With a new text, however, comes fresh insight. By using *Gs*, along with the versions and the appropriate ancient witnesses, the origins of IGT can be determined with more accuracy than ever before.

5.2.1 Time of Composition

IGT reads more like a compilation of stories than a freely-composed narrative. Its stories may have once circulated independently just as episodes attested in later branches

³⁹ The few titles given to Jesus in the MSS are likely secondary additions. In most of the witnesses they appear only in introductory sections such as titles or opening lines—*Gs* has δεσπότης ἡμῶν καὶ σωτὴρ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in the incipit and ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός in ch. 1), *SyrW* has “Messiah” in *Gs* 2:1, *SyrG* in the incipit and colophon, and *Geo* has “our Lord” in the title. *Eth*, on the other hand, regularly calls Jesus “Saviour” but this and Mary’s designation as “Our Lady” and “Our Lady the Saint Virgin Mary” reflect the addition of dominical titles. The Irish MS, which most of all should not be expected to preserve the language of the original, often calls Jesus “son of God,” and *Lm*, also far removed from the original, calls him “Lord.” Otherwise, the only

of the infancy gospel trajectory once did. *Gos. Phil.* (63, 25–30), for example, tells the story of *Jesus and the Dyer* as an adult tale of Jesus, as does a Coptic palimpsest,⁴⁰ yet this episode was not joined to the written infancy tradition until as late as the composition of *Arab. Gos. Inf.* (eighth/ninth century). A second example, the *Animation of the Fish* from the Egyptian Prologue, is a miracle told of Peter in *Acts Pet.* 13. If some of the core IGT stories had a similar prehistory, then determining whether or not external witnesses knew one story or the complete text becomes difficult.⁴¹ It does seem secure, however, that a collection of childhood tales was known to several authors of the fourth century. Chrysostom refers to miracles of Jesus' childhood (παῖδικά) (see 2.1.2.3), and Epiphanius, too, mentions miracles Jesus "is said to have performed in play as a child" (see 2.1.2.4). IGT may be the same text listed as "Liber de infantia salvatoris" in the *Decretum Gelasianum* (see 2.1.2.7). And *Gos. Bart.* and *Hist. Jos. Carp.*, two noncanonical texts which may have originated in the fourth century, contain allusions to several chapters of IGT (see 2.1.1.3–4). Second-century evidence for a full text, however, is less compelling. Justin's knowledge of Joseph's trade (see 2.1.2.2), though more detailed than Matthew's τέκτων (13:55), still could have been derived from NT tradition.⁴² The only other childhood tale known at this early date is *Jesus and the*

time Jesus is given a christological title is when he raises Zeno from death, at which time the boy answers Jesus' question with οὐχὶ κύριε.

⁴⁰ Published in W. E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the Collection of the John Rylands Library, Manchester* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1909), 44.

⁴¹ The unknown gospel of Papyrus Egerton may contain a version of the *Miraculous Harvest* set in Jesus' adulthood (*Pap. Eg.* 4). Unfortunately, the papyrus is so damaged that it is difficult to determine the extent of the affinities between the two texts.

⁴² Justin's testimony is rarely brought into discussion of the ancient citations. Zahn (*Geschichte*, 771) and Nicolas (*Études*, 401) believed Justin derived the information from IGT, whereas Jones (*A New and Full Method*, 376) and Harnack (*Geschichte*, 1:16) did not. J. A. Cassells, *Supernatural Religion: An Inquiry into the Reality of Divine*

Teacher.⁴³ The story is attested by Irenaeus (see 2.1.2.1), *Ep. Apos.* (see 2.1.1.1), and perhaps is mentioned at a slightly later date in *Acts Thom.* (see 2.1.1.2). In Irenaeus and *Ep. Apos.*, however, the episode has the rudimentary form of an apophthegm; so there is reason to believe they may have taken the story from oral tradition rather than a written text.⁴⁴ Of the three, only Irenaeus shows any awareness of the entire collection of tales. Immediately following his discussion of the *Teacher* story, Irenaeus turns to a discussion of how the Marcosians interpret Luke's tale of *Jesus in the Temple*. Only IGT is known to have contained both stories. Admittedly, the external evidence for a complete narrative of Jesus' childhood in the second-century is not particularly strong. Nevertheless, the vast majority of scholars have been sufficiently convinced by Irenaeus' testimony to assign to IGT a date of composition in the middle of the second century.⁴⁵

Revelation (1874; repr., London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1875), 315 thinks Justin and IGT knew Joseph's trade from a common source.

⁴³ A further second-century citation by Hippolytus (see 2.1.4.1) should be assigned to *Gos. Thom.* Since the recovery of the Nag Hammadi text few scholars have assigned this citation to IGT. De Santos (*Kirchenslavische*) is a notable exception.

⁴⁴ Gero ("The Infancy Gospel of Thomas," 71–73) and Lowe (ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΙ, 78–82) made great efforts to recover the original apophthegmatic form of the tale.

⁴⁵ See Simon, *Nouvelles Observations*, 6; de Beausobre, *Histoire critique*, 366; Tischendorf, *EA*², xxxviii–xxxix; Pons, *Recherches*, 25; Nicolas, *Études*, 199; Lipsius, "Gospels Apocryphal," 703; Meyer, "Erzählung des Thomas," 64; idem "Kindheitserzählung des Thomas²," 96; W. Bauer, *Das Leben Jesu*, 88; J. B. Bauer, *Die neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, 52; Bardenhewer, *Geschichte*, 1:531; Reid, "Apocrypha," 608; Walterscheid, *Das Leben Jesu*, 24; J.-M. Prieur, "Les Évangiles apocryphes," 81; Vielhauer, *Geschichte*, 673; Cameron, *The Other Gospels*, 124; Schneider, *Apokryphe Kindheitsevanglien*, 39 (tentatively); Cullman, "Infancy Gospels,"² 442; and Hock, *The Infancy Gospels*, 91–92. Michaelis (*Die Apocryphen Schriften*, 97) even favoured the first half of the century; Cartlidge and Dungan (*Documents*, 86) offered 125 C.E., the earliest dating of them all. Voicu ("Verso," 45–51; "Histoire," 192) showed judicious caution, assigning it a date of the second/third century. On dating it to the time of Mani, see Borberg, *Bibliothek der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, 63; Brunet, *Les évangiles apocryphes*, 139; Donehoo, *The Apocryphal and Legendary Life of Christ*, 117 n. 2; Migne, *Dictionnaire*, 1:1141. Peeters ("Introduction," xxii), with the support of Amann ("Apocryphes," col. 485) and Saintyves ("De la nature," 436), dated the separation of IGT from the larger *Évangile de l'enfance* to the fifth century. Findlay

Further evidence for an early date for IGT can be gleaned from the text itself. First, borrowings from the NT are rare. The expanded Greek MSS of IGT draw material from the Synoptics and John. *Gs*, however, appears to know only Luke. The third gospel is certainly used for the story of *Jesus in the Temple*—Lucan redaction permeates the tale, which IGT reproduces, at times, verbatim.⁴⁶ Additional parallels to Luke-Acts are evident throughout the text: the mention of the High Priest Annas who has a prominent role in Luke (Luke 3:2; Acts 4:6; but see also John 18:13, 24; *Prot. Jas.* 15:1); Zacchaeus' questioning of Jesus' birth and infancy (*Gs* 7:2) recalls Luke 11:27 (but see also *Gos. Thom.* 79:1); the third *Teacher* story (*Gs* 14) recalls Luke's version of Jesus' Rejection at Nazareth (Luke 4:16–22); and, though less compelling, *Jesus Heals James* (*Gs* 15) is similar to Paul's encounter with a snake in Acts 28:3–6. Other NT parallels may derive also from Luke: together, *Jesus and the Sparrows* and *Jesus Curses the Son of Annas* (*Gs* 2–3) recall Mark 3:1–6 par, a pericope featuring a similar combination of Sabbath controversy, withered victim, and report to the authorities; and, the saying on seeking and finding (*Gs* 5:3) is found in a number of early Christian texts including Luke 11:9–13. Jesus' miracles in IGT have their most formal affinities with those in Luke; both texts often conclude stories with their characters either returning to their homes (*Gs* 13:3; 14:4; perhaps 7:4; Luke 1:23, 56; 2:20, 39, 51; 5:25; 7:10; 23:49; 24:12) or similarly progressing (Luke 4:14, 30; 5:16; 7:50; 8:39; 9:56; 10:37; 17:14, 19; 24:52). Of IGT's few remaining NT allusions, none are compelling enough to suggest literary dependence or even awareness. Phrases found also in 1 Corinthians (7:2 in *Gs* 6:3; 13:1 in *Gs* 6:8) are

("Gospels," 683) assigned it to the third century; Jones (*A New and Full Method*, 376) believed it to postdate Jerome. Gero ("The Infancy Gospel of Thomas," 56 n. 1), however, considered the date of *Lv* (fifth century) the earliest sure evidence for IGT's existence.

likely late additions to the text,⁴⁷ and parallels to Johannine ideas in the revelation discourse indicate, at best, shared christology, not shared written sources. So, where IGT appears to draw on other Christian literature, Luke (and with it, perhaps, Acts) may be the only source for the information. This indicates not only a close tie between IGT and Luke, but also perhaps a time of composition before the wide dispersion of other NT texts. This conclusion is lent further support by the absence of any claims of authorship in the text. Anonymity in Christian compositions is far more common to those written in the first and second centuries.⁴⁸

The cumulative weight of the evidence indeed suggests that IGT was composed in the second or perhaps third century. Its use of Luke provides the text with a *terminus a quo* of around 90 C.E. and the few internal indications of its antiquity point to a time of composition that allows for its possible use by Irenaeus and *Ep. Apos.*

5.2.2 Authorship and Provenance

If the evidence for IGT's apostolic attribution were sufficiently compelling, determining the provenance of the text would be a simple matter, for it is widely believed that the Thomas literature (*Gos. Thom.*, *Acts Thom.*, and *Thom. Cont.*) hails from Syria.

⁴⁶ See de Jonge, "Sonship," 347–48.

⁴⁷ The anvil proverb in *Gs* 6:8 (= *Gac* 6:2f; 1 Cor 13:1) has no parallel in the early versions; μή σοι μελέτω (*Gs* 6:3; 1 Cor 7:21) has no parallel in any other witness to IGT.

⁴⁸ Kurt Aland (*The Authorship and Integrity of the New Testament* [London: SPCK, 1965], 1–13), looking at all early Christian literature, noted that the closer we get to the end of the second century, the more authors emerged as distinct individuals writing under their own names. For early material, it was not the scribe who was the true author of the text, but the Holy Spirit of the Lord working through him. Similar conclusions were reached by David G. Meade, *Pseudonymity and Canon: An Investigation into the Relationship of Authorship and Authority in Jewish and Earliest Christian Tradition* (WUNT 39; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1986), 103–105.

The Thomas attribution and the parallels with Hindu and Buddhist stories have led many scholars to associate IGT with this area. Unfortunately, the answers do not come that easily with this text. The absence of Thomas' name in the early versions (*Syr*, *Geo*, Old Latin via *Ir*) indicates that the attribution is both late and was unknown in the Syrian milieu.⁴⁹ Furthermore, any parallels in content between IGT and the other Thomas-related texts are too insignificant to connect the material.⁵⁰ Indeed, were it not for the common use of the name "Thomas," there would be no reason to assume such a connection would exist. As for the Indian parallels, knowledge of Buddhist stories and Hindu ascetics by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 1.15) and Philo (*Abr.* 182; *Dreams* 2.56) indicates that geographical proximity is not required for literary borrowing. But Syria is not the only possible candidate for IGT's place of composition.

An Egyptian origin for IGT was asserted for the first time by Ludwig Conrady. He believed the childhood stories were allegories of the Horus myth.⁵¹ Though the theory

⁴⁹ For a discussion of the origin of the Thomas literature, and IGT's place within it see Chartrand-Burke, "Authorship." Previous scholars who have connected IGT with Syria include Nicolas, *Études*, 199; Cowper, *The Apocryphal Gospels*, 128; and Cameron, *The Other Gospels*, 122. Meyer ("Erzählung des Thomas," 65) used the name of Thomas to place the text in India. For a reasoned argument against these positions see Hock, *The Infancy Gospels*, 99. In my own article on the origin of IGT, I, too, postulated Syrian provenance based, in part, upon connections between the revelation discourse and similar ideas found in both John and *Gos. Thom.* Unfortunately, this position can no longer be maintained as the new MS evidence indicates that the majority of those parallels are found in later additions to the discourse.

⁵⁰ The often-cited parallels include *Gos. Thom.* 4 ("the man old in days will not hesitate to ask a little child of seven days about the place of life") with *Gs* 7:3, *Gos. Thom.* 9 (the parable of the sower) with *Gs* 11, and *Gos. Thom.* 77 ("cleave a piece of wood, I am there") with *Gs* 16.

⁵¹ See Conrady, "Das Thomasevangelium." Other scholars criticized Conrady's conclusions rather harshly, but Baars and Helderman, after finding his parallels to the Horus myth untenable ("Neue Materielen," 199–202), still placed the composition of the text in Egypt (*ibid.*, 30). The only other author to suggest Egyptian provenance was Meyer ("Kindheitserzählung des Thomas²," 96) though he did not offer any reasons for his

has been largely either rejected or ignored in subsequent scholarship, there are compelling reasons to associate the text with Egypt. It is here that IGT, or at least several of its tales, was used by other Christian writers including the authors of *Ep. Apos.*, *Gos. Bart.*, and *Hist. Jos. Carp.* Marcus, a second-century heretic whose disciples are said by Irenaeus to have used the story of *Jesus and the Teacher*, was placed also in Egypt by Jerome (*Comm. Isa.* 64.4.5), though this information may be based on Irenaeus' identification of him as simply a follower of Valentinus (*Haer.* 1.13.1). Of course, Irenaeus' awareness of the childhood tale is due to his contact with followers of Marcus, not Marcus himself. His witness, therefore, may reveal more about the use of the text in Gaul than in Egypt. As for the other Egyptian witnesses, their knowledge of IGT is no proof that the text was composed in their region.

A third location for IGT's composition, Palestine, has been gaining support in scholarship due to the existence of several Jewish parallels to the tales.⁵² For over a century, scholars have tried to distance IGT from this area on the grounds that the text appears to have no knowledge of Judaism.⁵³ But the gospel does share motifs with stories of other venerable Jewish figures. *Jesus Stretches a Beam* and *Jesus Heals James* recall

conclusion. In his first study of IGT ("Erzählung des Thomas," 65) he places the text in India.

⁵² Nicolas (*Études*, 335), Variot (*Les évangiles apocryphes*, 45–46), and Schonfield (*Readings from the Apocryphal Gospels*, 13–14, 18–19) long ago suggested a Jewish origin for IGT. Nicolas and Schonfield, however, did so only in combination with overarching, and not particularly convincing, theories of Jewish composition for much of the Christian apocrypha.

⁵³ See particularly Zahn, *Geschichte*, 772; W. Bauer, *Die neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, 52; Michaelis, *Die Apokryphen Schriften*, 96–97; Vielhauer, *Geschichte*, 675; Bovon, "Évangiles canoniques," 25; R. Wilson, "Apokryphen," 335; Hock, *The Infancy Gospels*, 91; Rebell, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 136. Discussions of anti-Jewish elements in the text by Dehandschutter ("Anti-Judaism," 346–47) and S. Wilson (*Related Strangers*, 84), though not particularly convincing, need not be an obstacle to Jewish-Christian composition.

similar tales told of Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa (*b. Ta'an* 25a; *t. Ber.* 3:20; *b. Ber.* 33a),⁵⁴ *Jesus Carries Water in his Cloak* has a parallel in an apocryphal childhood tale of Ezra,⁵⁵ and a Mishnaic expansion of the creation story may have influenced *Jesus and the Sparrows*.⁵⁶ Additionally, Neusner believed the teacher Zacchaeus may have been inspired by Yohanan ben Zakkai. If so, this would place the origin of *Jesus and the Teacher*, the very backbone of the collection, in a conflict between Jews and Galilean Jewish-Christians shortly after 70 C.E.⁵⁷ There are clearly enough Jewish parallels to IGT to suggest that at least some of its tales may have grown out of contact with legends shared if not composed by Jews.

Strangely, none of this evidence was cited by Bagatti who, in 1976, was the first to articulate a theory of Palestinian origin for the complete text. Instead he relied chiefly upon the opening chapter of the text with its claim of authorship by an "Israelite" writing to his "Gentile" brethren, as well as Antoninus of Placentia's witness to sites of the IGT miracles (see above 2.1.3.1). He used this information to place the text among Jewish-

⁵⁴ The stories are excerpted in Evans, *Noncanonical Writings*, 234.

⁵⁵ For text and discussion see Leroy and Dib, "Un apocryphe carchouni"; Mingana, "Woodbrooke Studies 2"; and Kuhn, "A Coptic Jeremiah Apocryphon."

⁵⁶ See Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* (trans. Henrietta Szold; 7 vols.; 1913; repr., Philadelphia: Jewish Publications Society of America, 1967–1969), 1:28. The expansion reads: "fish are fashioned out of water, and birds out of marshy ground saturated with water."

⁵⁷ Neusner, "Zacchaeus/Zakkai." The reverence accorded Zacchaeus' position also suggests Jewish origin, for primary school teachers were not shown such respect in non-Jewish milieux; however, the compiler of the text may just be sensitive to this cultural distinction. The teaching of the letters in Greek, rarely a component of Palestinian Jewish instruction (see S. Safrai and M. Stern, eds., *The Jewish People in the First Century* [2 vols.; Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, Assen, 1976], 2:957–58; George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* [2 vols.; 1927/1930; repr., New York: Schocken Books, 1971], 1:322), certainly suggests origin in a Greek literary environment.

Christians in Nazareth.⁵⁸ Bagatti's argument is far from convincing. He appears to have had little acquaintance with the text-critical issues surrounding IGT. He rightly, however, noted the affinities between Jesus' curses and the harsh actions of the Jewish Holy Men (citing Elisha in 2 Kings 2:23–24) and even God himself (2 Sam 6:6–8).⁵⁹

The theory of Palestinian origin has been lent support by Voicu. He took the theory one step further than Bagatti, however, by assigning the text to a specific Palestinian Jewish-Christian group: the Ebionites.⁶⁰ Citing IGT's numerous references to Joseph as Jesus' father and to James as his (presumably) older brother, Voicu saw in the text evidence of Ebionite christology—i.e., Jesus was divine but he had a normal human origin.⁶¹ If a particular Jewish-Christian group needs to be named, however, the Ebionites seem an ill fit. As near as can be determined from the patristic evidence, the Ebionites believed Jesus had a normal human birth because they were adoptionists (Epiphanius,

⁵⁸ Bagatti, "Nota," 487.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 485.

⁶⁰ The fragments of *Gos. Eb.*, as well as other Jewish-Christian gospels, are excerpted by Philipp Vielhauer and Georg Strecker, "Jewish-Christian Gospels," in *Pages in New Testament Apocrypha*, Vol. 1, *Gospels and Related Writings* (ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher; trans. R. McL. Wilson; rev. ed.; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1991), 1:134–78 and given extensive analysis in A. F. J. Klijn, *Jewish-Christian Gospel Tradition* (Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae* 17; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992). Connections between Ebionite thought and *Ps.-Clem.* suggest this group was active in the area east of the Jordan (ibid, 28). Irenaeus, however, locates them in Rome, Origen in Egypt, and Eusebius in Cochaba.

⁶¹ Voicu, "Verso," 50; and see also idem, "Histoire," 193. The earliest description of the group is that of Irenaeus who reports that they rejected the virgin birth (*Haer.* 3.2.7). Origen mentions two groups of Ebionites (*Cels.* 5.61; cf. also *Comm. Matt.* 16.12) but without revealing what distinguished them. This information is supplied by Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 3.27 [Lake, LCL]). One group, he writes, asserts Christ "to be a plain and ordinary man...born naturally from Mary and her husband" (2), while the other "did not deny that the Lord was born of a Virgin and the Holy Spirit" (3). Eusebius, in fact, may have confused the latter group with those who lay behind *Gos. Heb.* (see 10). Epiphanius, who excerpts fragments of *Gos. Eb.*, may be the best source for information on the Ebionites. According to his report, the Ebionites claim Jesus was not a mere man; rather,

Pan. 30.13.7–8).⁶² It is unlikely, therefore, that a group who created a gospel harmony that begins with the baptism (see Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30.13.6, 14.3) would compose or value childhood tales of Jesus. Voicu's evidence, that IGT commonly calls Joseph Jesus' father, also may not be all that significant; the same identification is used in Luke 2:33. If IGT is indeed Jewish-Christian, it would be more appropriately assigned to the group behind *Gos. Heb.* This text describes Jesus' pre-existence (frg. 1), and contains a post-resurrection appearance to James, who Jesus refers to as "my brother" (frg. 7).

Ultimately, however, neither Palestinian nor specifically Jewish-Christian composition is required to explain IGT's connections to Judaism. Christianity, particularly in the early centuries, had an intimate connection with Jewish traditions, and some second-century writers, most notably Justin and Origen, made continual efforts to affirm that connection. Some affinities with Judaism, therefore, are to be expected. But labeling IGT Jewish because it uses tales similar to rabbinic and Jewish apocryphal stories is no more warranted than labeling it Buddhist because of its Indian parallels. All that is required to explain IGT's "Jewishness" is an environment in which the author was likely to have come into contact with the Jewish tales and in which the depiction of Jesus as an irascible Jewish Holy Man was least likely to cause offense. A number of cities in the Jewish Diaspora could therefore qualify as the place of IGT's composition.

Perhaps the number of those locations could be narrowed down by considering IGT's intimate connection to Luke. It has been shown above that Luke, or Luke-Acts, may be the only Christian text known to the author of IGT. Unfortunately, it is not known exactly where Luke originated, though Palestine must be ruled out as a possibility, for the

he can be compared to an archangel (*Pan.* 30.14.5). See the discussion in Klijn, *Jewish-Christian Gospel Tradition*, 14–16.

author of Luke appears to have possessed an extensive knowledge of Judaism and Jewish literature but not Palestinian geography. Nevertheless, it may be possible to pinpoint IGT's origin by determining which version of Luke the author used. Reference was made in section 5.1.1 above to affinities between *Gs* 17 and the Western text of Luke. If the wording of *Jesus in the Temple* has not changed significantly from the time of the text's composition, then IGT may have been written in the same area in which the Western text is believed to have originated. Unfortunately, there is no consensus in scholarship on this issue. D. C. Parker places Codex Bezae's origin in Berytus (Beirut) shortly before 400.⁶³ But the Greek text of the codex is believed to date from much earlier. The evidence suggests that it may have originated in North Africa or Egypt, but by the middle of the second century, its readings had become so disseminated that they are found in such widely dispersed sources as Marcion, Justin, Irenaeus, the *Diatessaron*, the Curetonian Syriac MS, and the *Peshitta*. If the author of IGT used the Western text of Luke, he could have done so in one of a number of possible locations. In any case, the parallel with the Western text may be too insignificant to invest much energy into this line of investigation. What is significant is IGT's association with Luke. Given the signs in IGT of early composition—the absence of apostolic authority, the paucity of parallels with other NT writings, and (tentatively) the *terminus ante quem* provided by Irenaeus—it is reasonable to suspect a place of composition within Luke's community or in a place in which Luke's gospel was held in high esteem. Any subsequent discussion of the two texts must consider this connection.

⁶² Bagatti ("Nota," 489) ruled out the Ebionites for consideration precisely for this reason.

⁶³ Parker, "Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis," *ABD* 1:1070.

There is no certain answer to the question of IGT's origin. It draws upon numerous types of literature, Jewish and non-Jewish, and bears no stamp of sectarian identification, neither in a reliably-early apostolic attribution nor by titles assigned to Jesus. Most likely IGT was composed without much thought to inner-Christian conflict or interreligious apologetics. Some scholars, reaching a similar conclusion, identify the audience and originators of the text as common "folk" indifferent to the christological battles being waged by their more learned peers.⁶⁴ This determination, however, is founded on the notion that IGT could only be attractive to a credulous, unsophisticated audience. The low level of literacy in the ancient world makes it doubtful that a distinction can be made between a refined and a popular readership—the same people, i.e., the literate, read all kinds of texts.⁶⁵ As for the possible places of origin, Palestine seems unlikely, but Syrian Antioch or Asia Minor account for much of the evidence: both regions have been suggested for the composition of Luke, they allow for its speedy dissemination into both the West and the East, and it is in Antioch where Chrysostom, the earliest secure witness to the *παῖδικά* (see 2.1.2.3 above), came into contact with the text in the late fourth century.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Nicolas, *Études*, 299; Variot, *Les évangiles apocryphes*, 214–15; W. Bauer, *Die neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, 52; Meyer, "Erzählung des Thomas," 65; idem, "Kindheitserzählung des Thomas,"² 95 (before it was used by gnostics); Findlay, "Gospels," 671; Michaelis, *Die Apocryphen Schriften*, 97–98; and Elliott, *The Apocryphal Jesus*, 1.

⁶⁵ On so-called "popular" literature, see Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (London: Yale University Press, 1995), 39, and in regards to noncanonical texts, 236.

⁶⁶ Voicu ("Verso," 41) believed Chrysostom came into contact with readers of IGT during his time in Antioch rather than Constantinople.

5.3 Transmission.

IGT traveled widely from its birthplace within a few centuries. By the end of the fourth century it was known to Epiphanius in Cyprus (2.1.2.4), to the authors of several noncanonical texts from Egypt (2.1.1.1, 2.1.1.3, 2.1.1.4), and possibly to the author of *Acts Thom.* writing, perhaps, in Edessa (2.1.1.2). In the span of only one or two centuries, IGT had spread throughout the Roman Empire and beyond.

5.3.1 The Diffusion of the Versions

The story of the transmission of the childhood tales begins in the East. In Palestine, Antoninus visited sites in sixth-century Nazareth commemorating two of the childhood miracles (2.1.3.1). A century later the παιδικά appeared in Anastasius of Sinai's list of apocryphal texts (2.1.3.3). In addition, several tales were known to Jews of uncertain date and origin responsible for the material incorporated into the *Toledoth Yeshu* (2.1.3.6).

Moving westward, the text reached Italy in a Latin translation as early as the fourth century. It may have been known under the title "Liber de infantia salvatoris" to the writer of the *Decretum Gelasianum* (2.1.2.6), a canon list believed to hail from fourth-century Italy. A Latin translation was certainly extant by the fifth century—the time of composition for *Lv* and the date assigned to the depiction of *Jesus and the Teacher* from the treasury of the Milan Cathedral (2.1.2.5). The MS of *Lv*, which contains leaves from several copies of IGT, testifies to significant dispersion of the text. Though the precise origin of the leaves is not known, the overwriting of the MS places *Lv*

in eighth-century Northern Italy. The Old Latin text also reached as far as Ireland at this time where it was transformed into an Irish poem. Combined with *Ps.-Mt.* sometime around the eleventh century, the Latin translation then spread throughout Europe where the united texts were further translated into several European vernaculars.

IGT spread eastward as early as the third century when it was read perhaps by the author of *Acts Thom.* (2.1.1.2). It had certainly penetrated eastern Syria by the sixth century, the time of the earliest Syriac MS. Like the Old Latin text, the Syriac IGT was soon expanded and combined with other infancy and childhood material. It is in its expanded form that the Syriac text was made available to Mohammed in the seventh century (2.1.3.4). Translated into Arabic by the eighth or ninth century, the augmented text then spread further among Arabic-speaking lands in the form of *Arab. Gos. Inf.* A second, undated Arabic translation was made directly from the unexpanded Syriac text.

Another Syriac version of IGT may have circulated at an early date. *Geo* and *Eth*, neither of which contain the variants common to *SyrWGB* and the Old Latin tradition, may derive from a Syriac text. Contrary to Gero and Voicu, *Geo*'s and *Eth*'s use of the Greek letters in the *Teacher* stories is no guarantee that they were translated directly from Greek.⁶⁷ Whatever its intermediary source, the Georgian MS is believed to date from before the tenth century, and *Arm. Gos. Inf.*, which uses several of the tales and may be related to *Geo*, around the twelfth. The Ethiopic text was incorporated into the *Miracles of Jesus* some time after the fourteenth century, though IGT may have circulated in Ethiopia for centuries before it was added to the miracle compilation. It may have been translated from Syriac, Arabic, or Coptic, though translation from Greek (prior to the seventh century) is not impossible.

In all these lands the short recension retained its essential form even when the text fell prey to the “biographical urge” to combine the tales of the infancy and youth of Jesus into a single tradition. The still-recognizable form of the text in the translations has made the recovery of the short recension possible.

5.3.2 The Diffusion of the Greek Text

In the Greek East IGT held onto its integrity as a distinct text but it was not immune to alteration. Several writers in Constantinople knew the text under the title τὰ παιδικὰ τοῦ Κυρίου. These include Georgius Syncellus in the eighth/ninth century (2.1.3.5), Euthymius Zigabenus early in the twelfth century (2.1.3.7), and the author, perhaps himself from Constantinople, of a sixth-/seventh-century list of apocrypha interpolated into Timothy of Constantinople’s *De receptione haereticorum* (2.1.3.2). It is likely, however, that one or more of these writers read IGT in an augmented form.

5.3.2.1 Expansion One (*G*_s)

Long before the date of the earliest MS (the eleventh-century *G*_s MS from Cyprus) IGT was expanded in one or more stages with the addition of *G*_s 1 and 16 (*G*_a 10) as well as several small expansions within chapters. This first augmentation of the text is difficult to date. The nineteen-chapter form of IGT was known as early as the tenth or eleventh century when it was used by the translator of *Sl. G*_s, therefore, must predate this translation. Perhaps *G*_s hails from the same period as expansions of other infancy tales such as *Ps.-Mt.* (seventh century)⁶⁷ and the Syriac precursor to *Arab. Gos. Inf.* (prior

⁶⁷ Gero, “The Ta’amra ’Iyasus,” 167; Voicu, “Verso,” 23.

⁶⁸ Beyers, “Introduction,” 13.

to the eighth or ninth century). Significantly, all three of these augmented texts add a corroborating witness to their traditions—just as the name of Thomas was added to lend authority to IGT, a validation letter of Jerome was appended to a branch of the *Ps.-Mt.* tradition,⁶⁹ and *Arab. Gos. Inf.* includes a claim that its information comes from the books of the High Priest Joseph Caiaphas. The choice of Thomas as guarantor is an odd one given the apostle's association, through *Gos. Thom.*, with early heretical groups. Yet, given that the theme of the text is to teach unbelievers about Jesus' power and authority, "Doubting" Thomas may not be so odd after all.⁷⁰

Other changes in this first expansion were made apparently in an attempt to soften the image of Jesus in the text. Zacchaeus' insulting words "Oh, wicked (*Geo*: "rude and impudent") boy" (*Syr Geo*) are absent (*Gs* 6:1); *Jesus Carries Water in his Cloak* finishes with the addition of "[Mary] kissed him saying, 'Lord, my God, bless my child.' For she was afraid lest someone malign him" (*Gs* 10:2); in *Jesus Stretches a Beam* an addition has Joseph say "Blessed am I for God gave me this boy" (*Gs* 12:2); and an epilogue is added to the third *Teacher* story restoring the second teacher to health (*Gs* 14:4). The desire to rehabilitate IGT's Jesus may also lie behind the incorporation of the new story in *Gs* 16 (*Ga* 10). In it Jesus concludes his miracleworking with a selfless healing much in the style of the Synoptics. Several further changes can be attributed to christological sensitivity: where the versions have Zacchaeus attribute to Jesus a pre-existence before the Flood, *Gs* places it before Creation (7:2); and, an addition to 8:1 has Jesus describe

⁶⁹ The letter was added to *Ps.-Mt.* around the year 800 (Beyers, "Introduction," 15).

⁷⁰ Other theories on the choice of Thomas include the early notion that the text is named for Thomas the follower of Mani, not the apostle of Jesus, and Saintyves' claim ("De la nature des évangiles apocryphes," 452) that apostolic attributions in apocryphal literature result from an apostle's association (by an event or relics) with the monastery home of its true author.

his purpose on Earth in typically Johannine language: "Because I have come from on high so that I may deliver those below and call them to the heights just as the one who sent me to you commanded me." The remaining minor alterations may be due simply to stylistic taste, including the removal of the proverb of the anvil (*Gs* 6:8).

On the whole, the changes made to IGT in this first expansion bring the text's portrayal of Jesus closer to that of the NT gospels. The reviser likely saw his efforts in this light, believing that he had made it clearer that the precocious, powerful young miracleworker of the childhood tales is the same person as the NT Jesus. The newly-added words of the crowds in *Gs* 16 make this connection explicit: "For he saved many souls from death. And he can bestow salvation all the days of his life."

5.3.2.2 Expansion Two (*Ga*)

The same need to domesticate IGT's Jesus lies behind the second major expansion of the text. Sometime before the tenth century two new chapters (*Ga* 17 and 18) based on the model of *Jesus Heals a Young Man* (*Gs* 16) were added to the collection. In addition, *Jesus Heals a Young Man* was moved to its present location at *Ga* 10 and several readings within chapters were expanded. Again, the cumulative effect of these expansions is an improvement in the image of Jesus. The son of Annas is branded a "Sodomite, impious, and foolish" (*Ga* 3:2) and therefore deserving of his curse; the amazement of the crowds is heightened in an expansion of *Ga* 5:2; the docetic-flavoured revelation discourse is tamed through accommodation with Johannine concepts and the removal of some of the sayings; and the *Miraculous Harvest* (*Gs* 11) is expanded slightly to include additional recipients of Jesus' miracle. The same sensitivity to IGT's portrayal

of Jesus also lies behind the added epilogue to *Ga* 3. Here the parents of the withered boy arrive “bemoaning his youth” and blame Joseph for his son’s behaviour. Perhaps this expansion was made by someone uneasy about the indifference shown in the text to the young victims of Jesus’ displays of power. Such a treatment of children, while acceptable in the literature of earlier times, may not have sat well with later transmitters of IGT.

The newly-expanded text differs from *Gs* also in its numerous minor changes in wording and sentence structure. In all, *Ga* is sufficiently distinct from its predecessor to warrant its designation as a wholly different recension. The geographical origin of the expansion cannot be determined, though the connection of the MSS *W* and *D* to Mt. Sinai may be significant.

5.3.2.3 Expansion Three (*Gc*)

The final expansion of IGT occurred some time prior to the earliest extant MS of *Lt* (12th c.). In a parallel development to the creation of *Ps.-Mt.*, IGT was combined with *Prot. Jas.* and several stories of Jesus’ stay in Egypt. The IGT material was considerably rewritten, though without losing any major portions of the stories, and the name of the author was changed to James⁷¹ in order to smooth over the transition between the texts. The vocabulary and syntax of the new text is so different from that of *Gs* and *Ga* that it must be assigned its own recension: *Greek C* (*Gc*). Of the new tales, at least one was taken from the larger body of Christian literature; *Jesus Makes a Salted Fish Come Alive* is told of Peter in *Acts Pet.* 13. A second tale, the *Teacher* story of the Prologue vv. 5–6, reads like a combination of *Gs* 2 and 6. For all the redactor’s efforts to join together the two texts, the *Prot. Jas.* material apparently was cut from the larger infancy collection at

an early point in the text's transmission. None of the Greek or Latin MSS of *Gc* contain the *Prot. Jas.* material, though it remains possible that the fragmentary *Gc* MS *T* may have included the full expanded text.

5.3.2.4 Further Transmission Developments

The next stage in the transmission of IGT again involves a revision of the text, but this time without expansion. At a date prior to the fifteenth century a redactor created *Gb*, a shortened text of only twelve chapters (eleven in Tischendorf's numbering). *Gb*'s retention of the introductory chapter and *Jesus Heals a Young Man*, the latter standing after *Jesus Raises the Boy Zeno* as in *Gac*, indicate that the new text is indeed an abridgement of the nineteen-chapter form of the collection. To be precise, however, the reviser did not merely shorten the text; rather, he eliminated only lengthy speeches and sayings material. The narratives, on the other hand, have been substantially rewritten but not abbreviated. Again, the changes are drastic enough to justify assigning the text to a separate recension. Both extant MSS of *Gb* were found in St. Catherine's Monastery at Mt. Sinai. It would be premature, following Voicu, to attribute the origin of the recension to a scribe of the monastery.⁷² However, the connection of two *Ga* MSS with the same location may be of some significance for the dispersion of the text.

Many of the tendencies noted in the creation of the various recensions can be observed also in the individual *Ga* MSS of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. The α family of MSS used by Tischendorf lack much of chapter six, perhaps out of sensitivity to the contents of the revelation discourse. Several changes in *V*, which also often

⁷¹ The *Lt* MSS, however, retain, or perhaps reintroduce, the name of Thomas.

shortens the text, appear due to a distaste for some of the material (the elimination of εἴτε καλὸν εἴτε πονηρὸν in *Ga* 5:2, and τάχα in 10:2.12; and the placing of corrector's dots above much of the letter speculation in *Ga* 6:4). *P* demonstrates both the tendency to expand the text (it adds the story of *Jesus and the Dyer*) and the need to soften the image of IGT's vindictive miracleworker (in an expansion of *Ga* 3, Jesus restores Annas' son to health). The various copyists and revisers of the text even add their individual christological declarations in variants to *Ga* 10:2: *V* has "Truly [perhaps] God dwells in him," *W* has "Truly perhaps Christ lives," and *α* reads "Truly, the Spirit of God dwells in this child."

5.3.2.5 Assessment of the Greek Evidence

The number of extant Greek MSS of IGT is relatively small, especially compared to the evidence for such texts as *Ps.-Mt.* and *Prot. Jas.* Nevertheless, the absence of demonstrable contact between the various MSS (except for the *α* family) indicates that the MS base was somewhat larger. To say the text was popular is probably an overstatement, but it was valued, even considered edifying, and believed to be important enough to revise continually in the light of theological and socio-cultural developments. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that any copies of IGT survived to the present. Several forces worked against its transmission: early Christian texts tended to fall into disuse after they were incorporated into larger, more popular, collections, and simple distaste for the material likely led to the death of many branches of the tradition. *W*, with its crossed out text, and *H*, with its note identifying it as the heretical "Gospel of Thomas," may be

⁷² "Verso," 25.

the final copies of these particular branches of the text. And two other MSS, those incorporating *P* and *S*, include IGT only as “filler” to complete the last few pages of the codices. Fourteen MSS of a text may not be much, but for this text perhaps it is more than we should expect.

5.4 Transmission Stemma.

The stemma appended to this chapter graphically depicts the relationships between the postulated original text and the various MSS. Every attempt has been made to assign dates to pivotal events in the transmission of the text. However, where a form of the text cannot be dated securely, a question mark (?) is appended to its title. Dotted lines mark uncertain paths of transmission.

5.5 Summary.

The foregoing discussion has led to a number of conclusions on the origin and development of IGT. At its earliest recoverable stage the text was an anonymous work of only fifteen chapters. Likely it was written in Greek and was known to writers of the second century. The tales themselves derive from a variety of sources: orally-circulating stories of either the adult or young Jesus, often-imitated childhood stories told of other eminent figures, and, in one case at least, stories of Jesus found in other Christian literature. Of course, some of the tales may be the author's own creations. The collection is clustered around the central episode of *Jesus and the Teacher* which, judging from its repeated use in literature and iconography, seems to have been held in high esteem in the early centuries. The tale's theme—to demonstrate Jesus' divine origins, authority, and

superiority—is taken up also in the other episodes, likely as a result of the compiler's efforts to bring unity to the narrative.

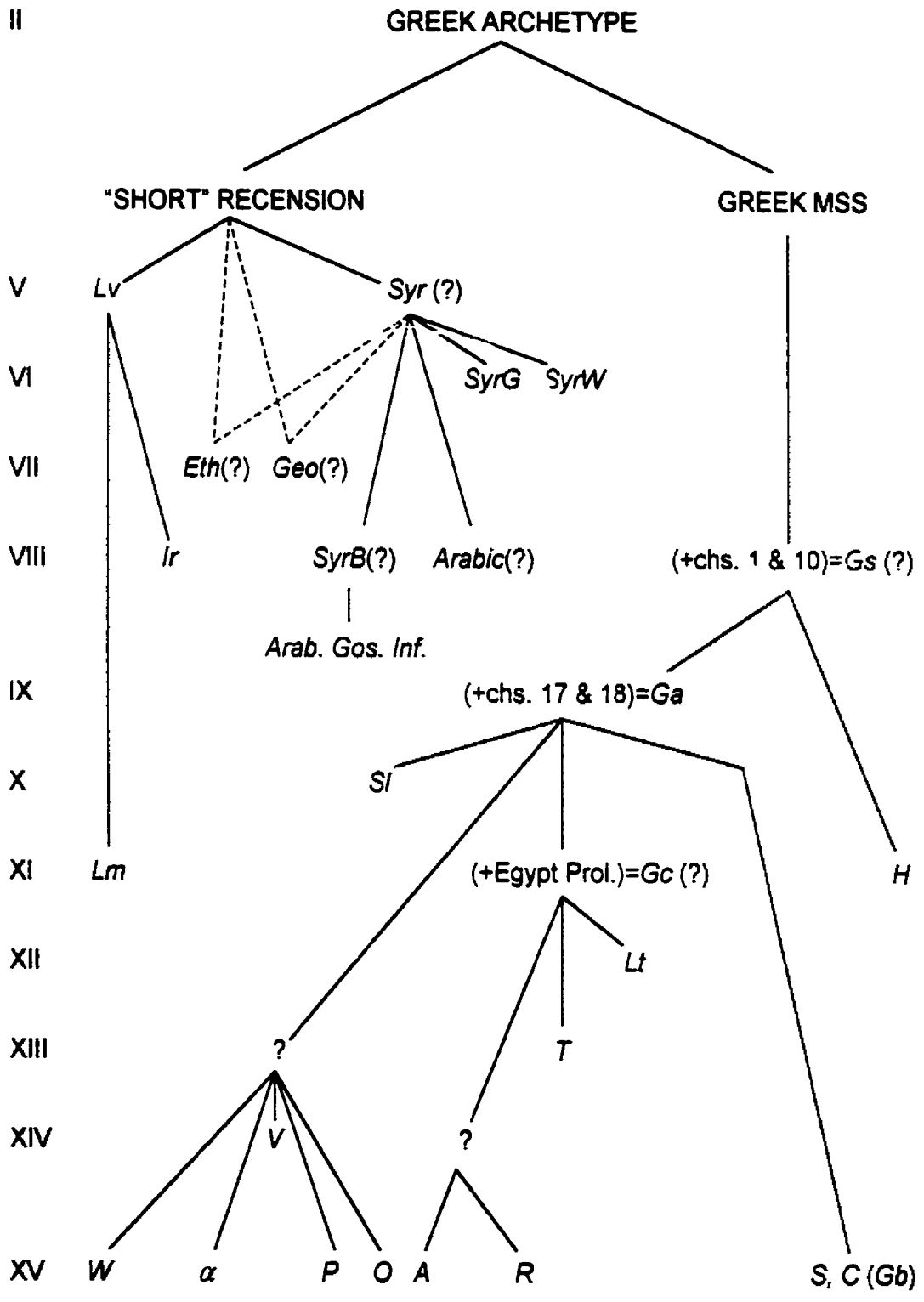
IGT is closely associated with the Gospel of Luke—in a literary sense, if not also because of a common geographical origin. The most obvious connection between the two texts is IGT's use of the story of *Jesus in the Temple*, but it appears also that Luke, and perhaps with it Acts, was the only Christian text known to the author of IGT. In addition, Luke and IGT share some compositional and christological affinities, in particular an appreciation for Jewish literary traditions and, as will be shown in the following chapter, a predilection for portraying their protagonists as irascible wonderworkers in the style of Elijah.

Determining IGT's relationship to other Christian literature is only the beginning of the process of correctly situating this text in the spectrum of ancient thought. Previous approaches to this task have stalled in erroneous identifications of the text as gnostic and its Jesus as a gnostic Redeemer, or in associating the young miracleworker's behaviour with precocious gods or heroes from Greco-Roman and other non-Judeo-Christian literature. As a result little attention has been paid to Jewish models for IGT's Jesus, and less still to the ways children are portrayed in the broad range of biographical sources from antiquity. The final section of this dissertation aims to place IGT in its appropriate context. Now that the gospel's original form and content have been established more firmly, issues regarding such subjects as christology, genre, and purpose can be discussed with greater confidence.

Appendix: Manuscript Transmission Stemma

Timeline

II



SECTION III

This last section of the dissertation attempts to place IGT in its appropriate literary and theological context. Previous scholarship regarding the portrayal of Jesus in the childhood tales has been led astray by the misidentification of the text with a “Gospel of Thomas” associated with gnostic Christianity and by a general distaste for the cruelty and volatility displayed by the young miracleworker. Part of the problem of interpretation stems from a lack of understanding on the part of scholars as to how children and eminent figures as children were remembered in antiquity. A wide range of biographical art and literature from the first several Christian centuries testify to two interrelated tendencies: to present their subjects with the qualities and abilities for which they were known, or would have been known, as adults, and to strip these same individuals of all the negative traits with which children were associated in antiquity. Chapter six explores the first of these tendencies by determining which of the many views, or christologies, of the adult Jesus is foreshadowed in the childhood tales. It will be shown that the young Jesus’ petulance is meant to evoke the activities of other ancient wonderworkers who also just as often cursed as blessed. The second tendency of the biographical material is examined in chapter seven and eight. Drawing on recent scholarship on the Roman family in antiquity, chapter seven reconstructs the life of a typical Mediterranean child. The discussion makes apparent that adults saw little of value in one’s childhood years—it was a transitory age meant to be passed through as quickly as possible. As a result, the child who acted like an adult became an ideal celebrated by all levels of society. Chapter eight examines examples of this ideal from funerary art and childhood tales, all of which reveal

a need to represent beloved children, or beloved figures as children, as mature, wise, and in possession of the abilities or distinctions which they were expected to acquire in adulthood. Chapter eight concludes with an assessment of how IGT fits in with these sources. It will be shown that IGT's Jesus is not so heretical after all; in fact, he is portrayed in a manner wholly consistent with how other children were remembered in antiquity.

CHAPTER 6

The Christology of the Infancy Gospel of Thomas

When seeking to understand better the proclivities of any text from early Christianity scholars have typically looked to comparative literature for solutions. Unfortunately for IGT this has not been performed with the same rigour and enthusiasm as it has for other canonical and noncanonical writings. Though parallels have been noted to individual episodes, little attention has been paid to the conventions employed in the childhood tales found in non-Christian biographical literature. It seems that the characterization of IGT as a loosely connected collection of stories has precluded the investigation of the text as a whole. Yet the gospel does indeed follow certain conventions. Chief among these is the tendency to use childhood stories to foreshadow the future accomplishments of their protagonist. Of course this is not a new observation. Numerous scholars over the past two centuries have noted the text's efforts to present the young Jesus in ways similar to the NT gospels,¹ though typically they make the point simply to emphasize the derivative nature of some of the episodes. The distaste for IGT's contents has prevented thorough investigation into what conception of the adult Jesus lies behind the tales. It is often enough for scholars simply to say that it is not the Jesus of the NT. This aspect of the text clearly requires more study, for by determining the precise

¹ See particularly Nicolas, *Études*, 266; Variot, *Les évangiles apocryphes*, 222; Walterscheid, *Das Leben Jesu*, 24; Bovon, "Évangiles canoniques," 25; Schindler,

christology that informs IGT's depiction of Jesus we can position the text better in the spectrum of early Christian belief and understand better the forces which lie behind its composition.

6.1 The Treatment of Character in Antiquity.

Ancient biographical literature was influenced by a rather uniform notion of character and personality. Discussing Plutarch's work, Christopher Pelling revealed that the ancients tended to reconcile a person's various personality traits into one character "type" and that they believed personality is inherited and remains consistent throughout one's life.² It was a simple matter, therefore, to fill in missing details of a person's childhood by inventing stories that foreshadow his or her adult career. Such embroidering of a person's life was believed to be permissible because biographical literature aimed to present a sketch, or caricature, of a person's character, not to record events with painstaking accuracy.³ The process is described by Quintilian in his treatise on constructing a panegyric, the *Institutio oratoria*. Here he instructs his readers to praise a subject with descriptions of his background, his beauty, and with accounts of his education: "it has sometimes proved the more effective course to trace a man's life and deeds in due chronological order, praising his natural gifts as a child, then his progress at

Apokryphen, 439; and Hock, *The Infancy Gospels*, 95–97. Of them all only Hock discussed this tendency in relation to non-Christian literature.

² Christopher Pelling, "Childhood and Personality in Greek Literature," in *Characterization and Individuality in Greek Literature* (ed. Christopher Pelling; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 235–40.

³ The connection between biography and caricature was made by Patricia Cox, *Biography in Antiquity: A Quest for the Holy Man* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), xi–xii.

school" (*Inst.* 3.7.15 [Butler, LCL]).⁴ Quintilian's instructions are echoed by the early fourth-century rhetorician Menander, who advises speakers to include in their praises such miracles as the recognition of an emperor's future role by children at play:

If there is anything like this in connection with the emperor, work it up; if it is possible to invent, and to do this convincingly, do not hesitate; the subject permits this, because the audience has no choice but to accept the encomium without examination (*Treatise* 2.371.10–15, Russell and Wilson).

This is precisely what Matthew and Luke did with their infancy narratives. They took concepts and conflicts from their individual tellings of Jesus' life and composed birth and infancy stories which are, in effect, their "gospels in miniature."⁵ In the case of IGT, however, there are no accompanying adult Jesus tales with which to interpret the childhood stories. The resulting lack of precision leads to a number of possible solutions to the christology behind the text: Jesus the gnostic Redeemer, Jesus the Hero, and Jesus the Jewish Holy Man.

6.2 Jesus the Gnostic Redeemer.

A gnostic origin for IGT was widely assumed in scholarship before the discovery of *Gos. Thom.* Faced with numerous citations associating a "Gospel of Thomas" with certain gnostic groups like the Manicheans and the Naasenes (see above 2.1.4), as well as

⁴ See further the discussion in Thomas Wiedemann, *Adults and Children in the Roman Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 53–60 (summarized also in Hock, *The Infancy Gospels*, 95–97). Wiedemann mentioned both the canonical infancy narratives and IGT in connection with Greco-Roman panegyric (*Adults and Children*, 55).

⁵ This phrase was used by Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke* [updated ed.; New York:

the text's apparent use by Marcus (2.1.2.1) and the author of *Acts Thom.* (2.1.1.2), the early scholars on the text looked in earnest for gnostic affinities in the gospel. Many concluded that the missing gnostic elements must have been removed by a Catholic reviser. Their one-time existence is proven, they said, by certain traces left in the text. The first full inventory of this apparent trace evidence was provided by Meyer.⁶ His list includes: an echo of the Hippolytus citation (see above 2.1.4.1) in *Lm*'s reading of *Gs* 6:7 (*Ps.-Mt.* 30:4); *Syr*'s docetic-sounding saying "For when I am greatly exalted, I shall lay aside whatever mixture I have of your race" (cf. *Gs* 6:4); *Syr*'s mysterious references to the cross (cf. *Gs* 6:3, 4); the "seek and find" saying of *Gs* 5:3; the letter speculation section (*Gs* 6:10); and, the overall depiction of Jesus as looking down upon the intellectual (Jewish) world and despising it. Meyer noted also the interest in Jesus' childhood shown in identifiably gnostic works (*Soph. Jes. Chr.* 8 and 61, and a legend ascribed to the gnostic Justin reported by Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5.26.29), and from these suggested that gnostics found Jesus' childhood enticing, for they could use tales from this period of Jesus' life to rescue him from the limits of human existence.

Für die Gnostiker bestand der Wert der Kindheitswunder in dem Nachweis, der sich daraus führen ließ, daß Christus nicht zu dieser Welt gehöre, daß er schon als Kind menschlicher Entwicklung und Bedingtheit enthoben war.⁷

Meyer's discussion of IGT's gnostic affinities is noticeably bare, and several of his points can be dismissed with ease. The Hippolytus citation, for example, was drawn from *Gos. Thom.* and appears never to have belonged to IGT, and the "seek and find" saying is just

Doubleday, 1993], 37–38, 183) to describe Matthew's construction of an infancy narrative that foreshadows all of the events of Jesus' adult life.

⁶ Meyer, "Erzählung des Thomas," 64–65. Similar evidence was advanced by W. Bauer, *Das Leben Jesu*, 93–95; and Cecchelli, *Mater Christi*, 3:355–59.

as common in the NT gospels as it is in noncanonical texts. Nevertheless, the list's deficiencies are excusable given the limited amount of information available to Meyer on the Thomas-related literature.

The recovery of *Gos. Thom.* should have effectively severed the connection between IGT and Gnosticism. Without the explicit connection between the infancy gospel and the citations there is no longer any compelling reason to believe the text ever was more gnostic. But the argument was not settled; instead, it just became more subtle. Not long after the Nag Hammadi discovery, de Santos published his reconstruction of the Greek *Vorlage* behind *Sl*. In the final chapter of the work,⁸ de Santos examined his new text in some detail claiming that the *Vorlage* is closer to the wording of the original text than the published Greek MSS and therefore more gnostic in theology. Much of his evidence is strictly the use of certain words—"matter" (reading ὕλη for ὕλεως *Gac* 2:2), the "living ones" (*Gac* 3:3), fruit imagery (*Gac* 2:2; 8:1), the use of "amazement," particularly in connection with seeking and finding (*Gac* 5:3); the term δύναμις ψυχῆς (*Gac* 6:2f) and its connection with the alphabet (τοῦ Α τὴν δύναμιν, *Gac* 14:2), the combination of νοῦς (*Gac* 6:2) and σταυρός (*Gac* 6:2a), and *Sl*'s identification of Thomas as the "Chosen One." He noted also several general gnostic themes: the preexistence of Jesus and his role in the creation event (*Gac* 2; 6:2b, 2d), the use of the alphabet in gnostic cosmology (*Ga* 6:4), the ridicule of listeners (*Gac* 6:2e; 8:1; 15:4), apparent references to Jesus as Redeemer descending into matter (*Gac* 8:1b) and to the acceptance of souls into the *pleroma* (*Gac* 8:2), the silence of IGT on Jesus' birth (pointing, therefore, to docetic christology), and the connection between IGT's child

⁷ Meyer, "Erzählung des Thomas," 64.

⁸ De Santos, *Kirchenslavische*, 172–84.

Redeemer and Jesus' appearances in the form of a child in gnostic-associated literature.⁹ After de Santos, the most prominent defender of the gnostic origin theory was Cullmann.¹⁰ Lauding the work of de Santos, and drawing heavily upon Meyer, Cullmann asserted that gnostics were particularly interested in childhood stories of Jesus.¹¹ Full gnostic infancy narratives, however, are now lost. All that remains are a few anecdotes which, he claimed, are given added authority in the texts by the mention of "the traditional authority of all gnostic statements about the infancy: Thomas."¹² One additional thorough treatment of the evidence was provided by Baars and Heldermaann. After studying the Syriac MSS, they tentatively concluded that IGT contains the following "etwaige gnostische, gegebenenfalls manichäische Züge und Parallelen": the separation of the waters (*Gs* 2:1), the creation of the birds from clay (*Gs* 2:1–4), Syr's reference to "children of the bridal chamber" (cf. *Gs* 5:1), the blinding of Jesus' accusers (*Gs* 5:1), the personification of Jesus as a cross (*Gs* 6:3), the letter speculation section (*Gs* 6:10), the tenacity of Jesus in Syr's parable of the anvil (cf. *Gs* 6:8), and the redemption of the cursed (*Gs* 8:1).¹³

Despite these authors' assertions to the contrary, a connection between IGT and Gnosticism simply cannot be maintained. Many of the standard arguments for the association rest on the belief, due to the ancient testimony, that IGT was once a longer

⁹ Valentinus had a vision of the Word as a newborn baby (Hippolytus, *Haer.* 6.42.2). Jesus appears as a child in *Acts John* 88, *Acts Pet.* 21, and as a young man in *Ap. John* 2, 2, 1–2, *Acts John* 87, *Acts Pet.* 5, and *Acts Thom.* 27.

¹⁰ See also Vielhauer, *Geschichte*, 675–76; Schneider, *Apokryphe Kindheitsevangelien*, 37–38; and Erbetta, *Gli apocrifi*, 1.2:82–83. Several other authors continue to suggest that IGT may have once contained gnostic material but do not find such elements in the text's present form. Voicu ("Histoire," 192) saw evidence of Gnosticism only in the letter speculation section.

¹¹ Cullmann, "Infancy Gospels²," 453–455.

¹² *Ibid.*, 454.

work valued by gnostics. The recovery of *Gos. Thom.*, as well as the lack of evidence for later expurgation, removed the basis for the theory. All remaining evidence of gnostic composition is quite weak. De Santos' list of gnostic concepts and affinities has been countered effectively by his critics as resting upon a simplistic and outdated definition of Gnosticism.¹⁴ And, though Baars and Heldermann joined in criticizing de Santos, their study suffers from the same flaws. There simply is no valid justification for seeing IGT's use of isolated, common words as evidence for gnostic composition. The same can be said for the description of the alpha: there is nothing particularly gnostic about letter speculation. And Cullmann's statement about Thomas as the guarantor of infancy traditions is without basis given the secondary nature of the Thomas attribution. As for the assertion that IGT portrays Jesus as a young gnostic Redeemer figure, the identification rests on the assumption that discourses of Jesus have been removed from a once-longer text. However, the only discourse of Jesus that was ever a part of IGT is that of chapter six, and though the speech is certainly esoteric, it bears few traces of gnostic ideology. Admittedly, gnostics indeed demonstrated an interest in the incarnation of Jesus, and some related this to his conception (*Soph. Jes. Chr.* 8) and even childhood (*Soph. Jes. Chr.* 61; the gnostic Justin in Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5.26.29), but no more than so-called "orthodox" Christians who also believed Jesus had a supernatural origin.

It cannot be denied, however, that Marcus, a known gnostic, was aware of the text. Irenaeus had personally come into contact with Marcosians who told the story of *Jesus and the Teacher*. But if gnostic use of a text is to be equated with gnostic composition, then many of the texts considered "orthodox," including John's gospel and

¹³ Baars and Heldermann, "Neue Materialien," 30–31.

Paul's letters, would have to be deemed gnostic also. The continued use of IGT among the orthodox over the centuries also precludes an exclusively gnostic affiliation of the text, as does the use of the *Teacher* story by the anti-gnostic *Ep. Apos.*¹⁵ At best, we must conclude that IGT indeed contains some elements that would make the text attractive to gnostics, particularly those, like Marcus, interested in gematria and letter speculation, but it is not itself a gnostic text.

A number of the early scholars who were intent on proving IGT gnostic characterized the text's portrayal of Jesus as docetic.¹⁶ To them, an all-wise, all-powerful young Jesus only "seems" human, whereas the "orthodox" Jesus grows and develops (per Luke 2:40, 52). Yet, Findlay, Moehler, Moffatt, W. Bauer, Nicolas, and Hock cite this same evidence when they claim that the text is anti-docetic.¹⁷ The confusion stems from the relationship between docetism and adoptionism. Many gnostic groups chose adoptionism—the notion that the human Jesus combined with the divine Christ at his baptism—for their articulation of the incarnation because it helped resolve the problem of the mixing of the divine in matter and allowed for the Christ to escape from the suffering on the cross. To these gnostics the Christ "appeared" human because he was temporarily

¹⁴ See Gero, "The Infancy Gospel of Thomas," 75–79; Baars and Heldermann, "Neue Materialien," 203; and the reviews of *Kirchenslavische* by Ménard, MacRae, and Pearson.

¹⁵ *Ep. Apos.* 7 attacks Cerinthus and Simon.

¹⁶ Tischendorf, *EA*², xlviii; Ellicott, "Apocryphal Gospels," 192; Nicolas, *Études*, 335 (at a later stage in the text's composition); Cowper, *The Apocryphal Gospels*, lxx, 128; Walker, *Apocryphal Gospels*, ix; Lipsius, "Gospels Apocryphal," 705; Tappehorn, *Ausserbiblische Nachrichten*, 12; Crutwell, *A Literary History*, 173; Meyer, "Erzählung des Thomas," 64; Reid, "Apocrypha," 608; Findlay, *Byways*, 177. The claim of docetism was made also by Sarah Currie ("Childhood and Christianity from Paul to the Council of Chalcedon" [Ph. D. diss., Cambridge, 1993], 206–7). "Just as Christ only seemed to take on a body," she wrote, "so he only seemed to be a child." Her discussion of docetic christology that follows this statement, however, fails to account for the omission of childhood tales in texts by such prominent docetists as Marcion and the Ebionites.

clothed in human flesh. But other adoptionist Christians, such as Mark, Paul (who believed Jesus was "adopted" at his death), and some Jewish-Christian groups, were able to use the concept while still claiming Jesus lived, suffered, and died as a human would. Certainly, then, IGT is anti-adoptionist, for its Jesus displays divine attributes before his baptism; but is it anti-docetic? Docetism can be applied more widely to include the notion that Jesus was divine from birth and therefore was not born in a normal human manner. This portrayal of Jesus is operative in the "gnostic" tales listed by Cullmann (*Ascen. Isa.* 11:5; the birth of Jesus from M. R. James' *Latin Infancy Gospel* [British Library, *Arundel* 404]; and *Soph. Jes. Chr.* 8), but it also arguably lies behind any text that claims pre-existence for Jesus such as John, *Ep. Apos.*, *Gos. Heb.*, Hebrews (1:2-4; 5:7-10), Colossians (1:15-20), and the pre-Pauline hymn in Philippians (2:6-11). To these writings must be added IGT, for it too has Jesus proclaim his pre-existence (*Gs* 6:4, 6; 7:2; 8:1) and even has Jesus distinguish himself from those of the flesh (*Gs* 6:4).¹⁷ Otherwise, however, the Jesus of IGT manifests no abilities that are not demonstrated also in the NT gospels; he even appears to feel pain when Joseph pulls his ear in reprimand (*Gs* 5:2). IGT's Jesus is apparently just as human as his adult counterpart in the NT—no more, no less.

¹⁷ Nicolas, *Études*, 322; Moehler, *La patrologie*, 2:569; W. Bauer, *Das Leben Jesu*, 99; Moffatt, "Gospels," 486; Findlay, *Byways*, 177; Hock, *The Infancy Gospels*, 99.

¹⁸ Voicu ("Histoire," 193) saw evidence of docetic christology in the saying from the versions, "And as for the cross of which you have spoken, he shall bear it, to whom it belongs" (cf. *Gs* 6:4). Presumably, Voicu connected the saying to the idea that Jesus or Simon of Cyrene suffered on the cross, not Christ. Too strict an interpretation of the saying, however, is unwise considering the amount of variation between the sources in this section of the text. Furthermore, Jesus' words could just as well refer to his own fate.

6.3 Jesus the Hero.

When literary criticism is brought to bear on the childhood tales, the closest parallels to IGT's stories are the personal legends told of various heroic figures from around the globe. These connections were first discussed by scholars of the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* who looked for an explanation for similarities between infancy and childhood stories of Jesus and those of Buddha and Krishna. Since their time, further parallels have been noted in Egyptian myth, Jewish legend, Greco-Roman literature, and in the tales of precocious young gods in Mesopotamian, Zoroastrian, Korean, and Finnish mythology. The childhood stories of Jesus most certainly draw upon freely-circulating tales of similarly venerated figures; at times, all that differentiates the Christian from the non-Christian stories is the name of the protagonist. What remains open to question is the motive. In composing, or collecting, childhood stories of Jesus, is the author of IGT betraying an understanding of Jesus consonant with the other "Heroes"?

The comparative study of Hero myths is more the provenance of folklorists and anthropologists than NT scholars.¹⁹ Edward B. Tylor, credited as the grandfather of the discipline, argued that many Hero myths follow a uniform plot or pattern: the hero is exposed at birth, is saved by other humans or animals, and grows up to become a national hero.²⁰ Since Tylor, the most influential works on the Hero myth were those of Otto

¹⁹ For a succinct overview of the field see the introduction by Robert A. Segal in Otto Rank, Lord Raglan, and Alan Dundes, *In Quest of the Hero* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), vii–xli.

²⁰ Edward B. Tylor, *The Origins of Culture* (vol. 1 of *Primitive Culture*; 5th ed; New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1958), 281–82.

Rank, Lord Raglan, and Joseph Campbell.²¹ Their surveys of figures whose lives appear to follow the Hero pattern include such eastern luminaries as Cyrus, Sargon, Karna, and Zoroaster; Greek and Roman characters such as Ion, Oedipus, Paris, Telephus, Perseus, Jason, Asclepius, Apollo, Dionysos, Zeus, Romulus, and Heracles; the Mesopotamian hero Gilgamesh; the northern European and Celtic champions Siegfried, Tristan, Lohengrin, and Arthur; the Jewish patriarchs Moses, Joseph, and Abraham; and even Jesus. Rank was first to add Jesus to the collection in his treatment of the birth stories of the Heroes.²² Alan Dundes followed in 1977 with a more expansive discussion of parallels throughout the Jesus biography.²³ Neither writer paid much attention to the childhood tales. This neglect may be due in part to the belief held by scholars of the field that the Hero pattern passes over the childhood of the protagonists.²⁴ This point is challenged, however, in criticism of Dundes' study.²⁵ Given the presence of similar childhood stories in the lives of many of these figures, some respondents knowledgeable about folklore felt the pattern may have to be amended.²⁶ The NT scholars among

²¹ Sections from Rank, *The Myth of the Birth of the Hero*, and Raglan, *The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth and Drama*, are excerpted in Rank, Raglan, and Dundes, *In Quest of the Hero*. For Campbell, see his book *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (2d ed.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971).

²² Rank, Raglan, and Dundes, *In Quest of the Hero*, 39–43.

²³ Alan Dundes, *The Hero Pattern and the Life of Jesus: Protocol of the Twenty-fifth Colloquy, The Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture, 12 December 1976* (Berkeley: The Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture, 1977); repr. in Rank, Raglan, and Dundes, *In Quest of the Hero*, 179–223.

²⁴ The various schemas of the Hero pattern are presented in a table by Dundes (*The Hero Pattern*, 10–11).

²⁵ The original edition of *The Hero Pattern* includes responses and a transcription of a debate. In her response, Mary P. Coote (42–44) pointed to IGT as proof that Christian imagination breaks the pattern for Jesus.

²⁶ Daniel F. Melia (in Dundes, *The Hero Pattern*, 48) made this suggestion. David Adams Leeming (*Mythology: The Voyage of the Hero* [2d ed; New York: Harper & Row, 1981],

Dundes' critics objected more to his methodology. Several criticized him for drawing upon a pastiche of material, including canonical and noncanonical texts and iconography, to make Jesus better fit the pattern.²⁷ They were generally open, however, to investigation into correspondences between Jesus' birth stories and those of the other Heroes.²⁸ This indifference to the study of the Hero myth on the part of NT scholars can be attributed to a distaste for theories of its origin. Rank was a psychoanalyst and a disciple of Freud, Raglan a folklorist allied with Frazer, Campbell has been associated with Jung's theories, and Dundes, too, was a Freudian.²⁹ NT scholars, on the other hand, for the most part are text critics; they prefer to account for connections in literature by positing contact between cultures, not universal human needs.³⁰ Some even see the idea of a pattern governing the Jesus story as an attack on the historicity of Jesus.³¹

84) incorporated childhood in his schema as a stage of initiation when the protagonist may perform a miracle "which indicates that God is within him."

²⁷ See the responses to Dundes (in *The Hero Pattern*) by Janice R. Capel, 38; Samuel Sandmal, 61; Morton Smith, 62–63; Herman C. Waetjen, 66.

²⁸ See the responses to Dundes (in *The Hero Pattern*) by Coote, 44; Smith, 63; Waetjen, 66.

²⁹ Several of the respondents to *The Hero Pattern* (Irwin W. Batdorf, 33–34; Michael N. Nagler, 54–58; and Thomas Conley, 73–78) took issue particularly with Dundes' Freudian interpretation. Others (Sandmal, 61; and Waetjen, 66–67) commented that patterns from folklore should only be applied to the material after text-critical study. Folklorist Wendy D. O'Flaherty, however, came to Dundes' defense writing: "The basic case seems to be proven beyond all reasonable doubt—for surely a Freudian who dares to present an analysis of the Bible to a company of theologians must be on trial, and presumed guilty until proven innocent" (59). For Freud's own interpretation of Jesus' life see *Totem and Taboo* (trans. James Strachey; 1913; repr., New York: Norton, 1950), 153–55; idem, *Moses and Monotheism* (trans. Katherine Jones; 1939; repr., London: The Hogarth Press, 1964), 109–14.

³⁰ Campbell would actually agree. Though he found Jungian ideas helpful for examining the Hero myth, he believed that the motifs of the tales were spread by contact between peoples not through the collective unconscious. See Segal's discussion in the introduction to Rank, Raglan, and Dundes, *In Quest of the Hero*, ix–x.

³¹ See the responses of Charles E. Murgia (52–53) and Charles H. Talbert (64–65). The application of folklore studies, particularly the work of Vladimir Propp (*The Morphology of Folktale* [trans. Laurence Scott; 2d ed.; Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968]), has

However, the development of the greater Jesus biography does appear to have been influenced by a narrative pattern. This can be observed in the expansion of the Jesus story from Mark by Matthew and Luke and from these three into the noncanonical gospels. Assuming that Mark was their source, Matthew and Luke have altered the structure of the Jesus story to include elements found also in the birth and childhood tales of other figures in antiquity. IGT then further added to the material in what appears to be a conscious supplementation of Luke. Perhaps the author/compiler of IGT considered Luke in some way deficient in its virtual neglect of Jesus' childhood. Read together, Luke and IGT present a more complete biography of Jesus. But is there a particular biographical pattern directing IGT's composition? Are the childhood gospel's motifs selected to make its readers see Jesus in a manner similar to other great figures of antiquity?

Siding with the NT scholars, it seems more methodologically secure to look for influences in Jesus' childhood tales from contact with biographical patterns used in literature from the Hellenistic world.³² The two patterns discussed in relation to Jesus are those of the Hellenistic Hero and the Divine Man.

had a better reception in the study of the Hebrew Bible. For an overview of the uses (and misuses) of Propp's methodology in Biblical studies see Pamela J. Milne, *Vladimir Propp and the Study of Structure in Hebrew Biblical Narrative* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988). Some scholars, notably Henry Fischel ("Martyr and Prophet [A Study in Jewish Literature]," *JQR* 37 [1947]: 265–80, 363–85) and D. Lührmann ("Biographie des Gerechten als Evangelium," *WD* [1977]: 23–50), have applied narrative structures to the Passion Narrative, but their studies note only Jewish parallels to the gospels.

³² After a scathing indictment of Hero scholarship, Morton Smith made a similar statement about where to seek literary parallels to Jesus' life ("Prolegomena to a Discussion of Aretologies, Divine Men, the Gospels and Jesus," *JBL* 90 [1971]: 179). See also his response to Dundes in *The Hero Pattern*, 63; and Howard Clark Kee's comments in *Miracle in the Early Christian World: A Study in Sociohistorical Method* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 1–41.

In Hellenistic thought exceptional human beings can be elevated to a position that nears that of the gods. National heroes such as Romulus and Heracles were afforded such honour, as were emperors, and philosophers. Some people, particularly prophets and magicians, even claimed the designation for themselves; the emperor Hadrian bestowed divine honours upon his deceased "pet" Antinous.³³ The Hellenistic Hero most often connected with Jesus is Heracles.³⁴ The accounts of the lives of these two men indeed contain many significant correspondences: Heracles was the son of a god (Zeus), he suffered hardship in completing his famous Twelve Labours, descended to the underworld, underwent a "passion" on a pyre in order to become the saviour of humanity, and thereafter assumed a place among the gods.³⁵ He even performed childhood wonders: when Hera sent snakes into his crib, the infant strangled them with his already prodigious

³³ Smith, "Prolegomena," 181–84 lists numerous Greco-Roman figures said to be gods or demi-gods.

³⁴ First discussed by Emil Ackermann, "De Senecae Hercule Oetaeo," *Philologus Supplementband* 10 (1907): 323–428. For an overview and critique of the literature see Marcel Simon, *Hercule et le christianisme* (Paris: Editions Orphrys, 1955), 49–74; and, more briefly, David E. Aune, "Heracles and Christ: Heracles Imagery in the Christology of Early Christianity," in *Greeks, Romans, and Christians: Essays in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe* (eds. David L. Balch, Everett Ferguson, and Wayne A. Meeks; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 11–13. Gregory J. Riley made much use of the Hellenistic Hero myth in his misleadingly titled book *One Jesus, Many Christs: How Jesus Inspired not One True Christianity but Many* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1997). Here he argues that the Jesus story, as well as the stories of the martyrs and saints, was told in imitation of the Hero myth. Charles H. Talbert (*What is a Gospel? The Genre of the Canonical Gospels* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977], 26–43) makes a similar claim of the Synoptic gospels in his discussion of gospel genre.

³⁵ This summary of Heracles' career, taken from Ludwig Preller, *Griechische Mythologie* (3 vols.; 1854; repr., Zürich: Weidmann, 1967), 2.2:422–675, is admittedly simplistic. The story of Heracles was retold and reinterpreted over the centuries by various groups who often focused only on particular myths and particular aspects of his character. For a discussion of the changing role of Heracles see G. Karl Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme: The Adaptations of the Hero in Literature from Homer to the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1972) and Simon, *Hercule et le christianisme*, ch. 3.

strength,³⁶ and, as a boy, he killed his tutor, Linos, for an unjust chastisement.³⁷ The scholars who worked most extensively with the Jesus-Heracles parallels were Pfister,³⁸ who found twenty-one points of comparison, and Toynbee,³⁹ who found twenty-four. Both believed early Christians were influenced in their portrayals of Jesus by the Heracles myths. Indeed, even in antiquity, Christians were forced to defend their leader against such comparisons (Justin, *1 Apol.* 21.1; Origen, *Cels.* 3.22); one Christian, the gnostic Justin, went so far as to incorporate Heracles into a line of prophets which culminated in Jesus (Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5.26.29). Subsequent scholars, including Rose, Knox, and Aune, saw the influence of the myths more as an indirect assimilation of themes and motifs culled from the numerous tales of Hellenistic saviour figures.⁴⁰ The correspondences between the lives of Jesus and Heracles, therefore, are not significant enough to indicate that it is specifically the Hellenistic Hero upon which the Jesus of the NT is patterned, nor do the similarities with IGT's childhood stories make the connection any more secure. Heracles and Jesus are not the only figures of antiquity to display their talents as youths.

By the time of Jesus, the Hellenistic Hero pattern was modified for use with a variety of figures. The type of figure that most closely resembles Jesus is the θεῖος ἀνὴρ,

³⁶ Apollodorus 2.4.8 and others.

³⁷ Apollodorus 2.4.9 and others.

³⁸ Friedrich Pfister, "Herakles und Christus," *AR* 34 (1937): 42–60.

³⁹ Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (6 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), 6:376–539.

⁴⁰ Aune, "Heracles and Christ"; Wilfred L. Knox, "The 'Divine Hero' Christology in the New Testament," *HTR* 41 (1948): 229–49; Herbert J. Rose, "Herakles and the Gospels," *HTR* 31 (1938): 113–42. For applications of the Hellenistic Hero myth in non-gospel literature see Adela Yarbro Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1976); and Leonard L. Thompson, "Lamentation for Christ as a Hero: Revelation 1:7," *JBL* 119 (2000): 683–703.

or Divine Man.⁴¹ Like the national Heroes, the Divine Men were elevated from the status of human to something near or identical to that of the immortals. Their divine kinship, demonstrated through marvelous teachings and the miraculous abilities to heal and exorcise, is best described in the words of Philostratus, a devotee of the Divine Man Apollonius.

...they [those who claim Apollonius is a god] felt that there is a kind of affinity between god and man, which enables us alone among the animals to know gods and speculate on their own nature and its communications with the divine. Nay, our very form asserts a likeness to God, as sculpture and painting do express; and we are persuaded that our virtues come to us from the godward, and that such as partake in them are *near to gods* and *godlike* (*Vit. Apoll.* 8.7, Phillimore).

Other often-cited examples of the Divine Man include Alexander of Abonoteichus, Peregrinus Proteus, and Pythagoras. Parallels between the careers of these figures and Jesus have been noted often. But perhaps the most well-known, and much criticized,

⁴¹ The groundwork for the theory was laid by Richard Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen: Ihren Grundgedanken und Wirkungen* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1910); Gilles Wetter, "Der Sohn Gottes": *Eine Untersuchung über den Charakter und die Tendenz des Johannes-Evangeliums. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Heilandsgestalten der Antike* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1916); Otto Weinreich, "Antikes Gottmenschen," *NJahrb* 2 (1926), 633–51; Hans Windisch, *Paulus und Christus: Ein biblisch-religionsgeschichtlicher Vergleich* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1934); and Ludwig Bieler, *Theios aner: Das Bild des "Göttlichen Menschen" in Spätantike und Frühchristentum* (2 vols.; Vienna: Oskar Höfels, 1935–1936). The theory was lent support by Rudolf Bultmann (*Theologie des Neuen Testaments* [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1953], 127–32) and thereafter gained prominence in the work of his students Helmut Koester (*Einführung in das Neue Testament im Rahmen der Religionsgeschichte und Kulturgeschichte der hellenistischen und römischen Zeit* [Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1980]) and Vielhauer (*Geschichte*). For an overview of the various formulations of the Divine Man hypothesis see Carl B. Holladay, *Theios Aner in Hellenistic-Judaism: A Critique of the Use of This Category in New Testament Christology* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1977), 1–45; Smith, "Prolegomena," 188–95; David L. Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1972), 241–92; and the recent article by Erkki Koskeniemi, "Apollonius of Tyana: A Typical θεῖος ἄνθρωπος?" *JBL* 117 (1998): 456–60. A more detailed overview of scholarship can be found in idem, *Apollonios von Tyana in der neutestamentlichen Exegese: Forschungsbericht*

treatment of the similarities is that of Hadas and Smith.⁴² Believing the biographies of the Divine Men to conform to a common pattern, the authors traced the pattern's origin to the *aretalogy*, a developed form of the Hellenistic Hero myth directed toward moral instruction and used as a defense for the views of its protagonist's followers. Hadas and Smith defined the pattern as:

...a formal account of the remarkable career of an impressive teacher that was used as a basis for moral instruction. The preternatural gifts of the teacher often included power to work wonders; often his teaching brought him the hostility of the tyrant, whom he confronted with courage and at whose hands he suffered martyrdom. Often the circumstances of his birth or his death involve elements of the miraculous.⁴³

To support their discussion of the development of the *aretalogy*, Hadas and Smith presented four examples of the genre: Porphyry's *Life of Pythagoras*, Philo's *Life of Moses*, the Gospel of Luke (selected because "aretalogical traits are more prominent in Luke"⁴⁴), and the *Life of Apollonius*, the only text in which, they admit, the pattern in all its details is found.⁴⁵

Of all the alleged Divine Men, Apollonius is the one most often compared to Jesus.⁴⁶ Like Jesus, Apollonius' birth was prophesied, he had both divine (Zeus) and human parentage (his earthly parents), miracles attended his birth, from his youth he was an authoritative teacher and healer, he was imprisoned, tried and executed (as a sorcerer),

und Weiterführung der Diskussion (WUNT 2.61; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1994), 18–168.

⁴² See Smith, "Prolegomena," and Moses Hadas and Morton Smith, *Heroes and Gods: Spiritual Biographies in Antiquity* (Religious Perspectives 13; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965).

⁴³ Hadas and Smith, *Heroes and Gods*, 3.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 72.

⁴⁶ The βίαι of such figures as Apollonius have been employed also in the search for the genre of the NT gospels. For a recent overview of the scholarship, as well as an example

and he was said to have risen from the grave. The similarities between the *Life* of Apollonius and the NT gospels have been explained by scholars as the result of attempts made by early Christians to present to Gentiles a Jesus who possessed all of the qualities and abilities valued in the typical Greco-Roman wonderworker. The entry point for the Divine Man model into Christianity is believed to be Hellenistic Judaism. Greek Jewish writers such as Philo, Josephus, and Artapanus⁴⁷ are said to have used the model to reinterpret Moses for their audiences.⁴⁸ In this context, IGT could be perceived as an attempt to make the tie between the NT Jesus and the Divine Men more explicit. The young Jesus shares the abilities attributed to all these figures and his miracles are narrated in similar literary forms. Most of all, the tales' augmentation of Jesus' intelligence raises his cognitive abilities to the level of the perennially wise Divine Men.⁴⁹

Unfortunately, there are major problems with the Divine Man theory. For one, there is truly only one figure, Apollonius, whose biography conforms to the full birth to death model. Scholars have been accused, therefore, of using the *Life* of Apollonius uncritically; they constructed a pattern of the Hellenistic Divine Man from the gospels

of the practice, see Richard A. Burridge, *What are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

⁴⁷ Philo, *Moses*; idem, *Hypoth.* 8, 11, 14; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.280–88, 339; 3.35–38, 179–80; and Artapanus, frg. 3. Other Jewish writers who expand the Moses story include Aristobulus, Eupolemus (frg. 1), Ben Sira (44:23–45:5), and Pseudo-Philo (*L.A.B.* 6). Only the latter two portray Moses as a miracleworker but not to a degree any greater than the biblical tales.

⁴⁸ This formulation of the hypothesis is that of Ferdinand Hahn, *Christologische Hoheitstitel: Ihre Geschichte im frühen Christentum* (FRLANT 83; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), 292–308. Koskeniemi ("Apollonius of Tyana," 459) characterized it as the most common form today.

⁴⁹ Helmut Koester ("One Jesus and Four Primitive Gospels," in *Trajectories Through Early Christianity* [eds. James M. Robinson and Helmut Koester, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971], 192) and Cameron (*The Other Gospels*, 123) made precisely this argument when claiming IGT promotes a Divine Man christology.

and Apollonius and then compared the gospels to this pattern.⁵⁰ The relatively late date of Apollonius' career (late second-century) and his biography (ca. 220) further hurts the chances of influence on the gospel writers,⁵¹ as does the failure to prove Hellenistic Judaism a transmitter of the pattern.⁵² Philo, Josephus, and Artapanus actually tend to minimize the miraculous deeds of the Biblical Moses and portray him more as a philosopher.⁵³ Apparently, if first-century Christians wanted to depict Jesus in a manner attractive to Gentiles, they would be better off to follow their Jewish contemporaries and present Jesus as a philosopher not a miracleworker.⁵⁴ And this is precisely the approach used by the second-century apologists to confront claims that Jesus was merely a magician or charlatan.⁵⁵ It cannot be denied that there are similarities between the stories

⁵⁰ See Koskenniemi, "Apollonius of Tyana," 462. The concept of *aretalogy* also has received criticism, in part because no text survives from antiquity which uses that designation (see Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure*, 1–13).

⁵¹ Other figures associated with the Divine Man theory—such as Alexander of Abonoteichus, Peregrinus Proteus, Arnuphis, Julianos, Apsethos, and Neryllinos—also hail from the latter half of the second century. Koskenniemi found only one non-Jewish miracleworker of this type closer to the time of Jesus: the Syrian slave Eunus who led a revolt of slaves in Sicily ca. 136/135–132 B.C.E. ("Apollonius," 463). Tiede (*The Charismatic Figure*, 98–99) also noted the chronological gap between Jesus and the Divine Men, and concluded that the teacher/miracleworker figure was born in the late second-century. Prior to that time, a person's divinity was measured by his teaching alone.

⁵² The exaggerated role of Hellenistic Judaism as transmitter of the pattern forms the basis of critiques by Holladay (*Theios Aner*) and Barry L. Blackburn, "Miracle Working THEIOI ANDRES in Hellenism (and Hellenistic Judaism)" in *Gospel Perspectives 6: The Miracles of Jesus* (eds. David Wenham and Craig Blomberg; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986).

⁵³ Holladay, *Theios Aner*, 238; Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure*, 19–20.

⁵⁴ Philo's Moses is a virtuous ruler and philosopher, Josephus' is a general and a philosopher. Artapanus may portray Moses more as a miracleworker but not to present him as a Divine Man. His intent was to make Moses favourable to Egyptians (Holladay, *Theios Aner*, 219–20).

⁵⁵ See Justin, *I Apol.* 21–27; 54; Origen, *Cels.* 2.49ff.; 3.3, 42f.; 6.8–11; 7.9, 53; etc. (noted in Smith, "Prolegomena," 188). For a discussion see Paul J. Achtemeier, "Jesus and the Disciples as Miracle Workers in the Apocryphal New Testament," in *Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. Elisabeth Schüssler

of Jesus and those told of other Hellenistic philosopher-miracleworkers, but a better parallel to the NT Jesus, and IGT's Jesus, can be found closer to Jesus' geographical roots.

6.4 Jesus the Jewish Holy Man.

The search for Greco-Roman models for the career of Jesus has left neglected the miracleworkers in his own day and land.⁵⁶ A number of Jewish figures are said to have performed healings/exorcisms,⁵⁷ nature miracles,⁵⁸ and accomplished, or at least promised, "signs and wonders."⁵⁹ One such figure, Hanina ben Dosa, could do all of

Fiorenza; Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), 156–61. Holladay (*Theios Aner*, 239) mentions also that, when the sermons in Acts become more "hellenistic" in texture, their portrayal of Jesus as miracle-worker diminishes—miracle-working is present in Acts 2:22 and 10:38 but absent in Acts 17. In Acts, too, the traveling apostles refuse to be worshipped as gods (10:26; 14:15).

⁵⁶ See, generally, Koskenniemi, "Apollonius of Tyana," 464–66, and the works by Richard A. Horsley and John S. Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets, and Messiahs: Popular Movements in the Time of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1985), 136–89; and Geza Vermes, *Jesus the Jew: A Historian's Reading of the Gospels* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1973), 58–85. Against this position see Smith, "Prolegomena," 194.

⁵⁷ The anonymous man in Mark 9:38–40 (Luke 9:49–50), the sons of Skeva in Acts 19:13–16, Jesus' disciples (Mark 6:7 par; Luke 10:9; *Gos. Thom.* 14), Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai and Rabbi Eleazar ben Yose (*b. Me'il.* 17b), and in contemporary literature, David is recast as an exorcist by Pseudo-Philo (*L.A.B.* 60.1–3), as are Solomon and Abraham (*IQapGen^a* 20), and Daniel (*4QPrNab ar*), and Tobias is taught a technique of exorcism by the angel Raphael (Tob 3:16–8:9, 10–11). On Jewish "magic," including talismans and potions for healing, see Achtemeier, "Jesus and the Disciples," 152–56.

⁵⁸ Honi the circle drawer (*m. Ta'an.* 3:8; Josephus, *Ant.* 14.22–24), and two of Honi's grandsons, Hanan and Abba Hilkiah (*b. Ta'an.* 23ab). For more on Honi see William Scott Green, "Palestinian Holy Men: Charismatic Leadership and Rabbinic Tradition," *ANRW* 2.19.2: 614–47; Vermes, *Jesus the Jew*, 69–72.

⁵⁹ Theudas (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.97–98; Acts 5:36), the Jewish prophet from Egypt (Acts 21:38; Josephus, *Ant.* 20.169–71; *J.W.* 2.261–63), Paul (1 Cor 2:4–5; 2 Cor 12:12; Acts 14:8–11; 19:11–16; 28:3–6, 7–9), Peter (Acts 3:2–9; 5:1–11; 9:32–43) other followers of Jesus (in Acts by Stephen, 6:8; Philip, 8:6–7, 13; the apostles as a group, 2:43; 5:12; Paul with Barnabas, 14:3; 15:12; Heb 2:4), the false prophets warned of in Mark 13:22 (Matt

these.⁶⁰ The Biblical figures of Moses, Elijah and Joshua provided the model for many of the first-century Jewish wonderworkers. For some Jews, including the early Christians, Elijah was held in particularly high esteem.⁶¹ Both Elijah and his successor Elisha were credited with many of the abilities associated with the later holy men, including powers of healing (2 Kgs 5:8–14; 13:20–21), resuscitation (1 Kgs 17:17–24; 2 Kgs 4:18–36), miraculous feeding (1 Kgs 17:8–16; 2 Kgs 4:42–44), and power over nature (they bring rain in 1 Kgs 17:45 and 2 Kgs 3:13–20; the two part the Jordan in 2 Kgs 2:7–8, 14; and Elisha purifies water in 2 Kgs 19–22). Significantly, these deeds are accomplished not with incantations or potions but solely from speech and touch. The power, of course, comes from God, but it is embodied in the holy man. Furthermore, such power is not always demonstrated with mercy; kings (1 Kgs 21:17–29; 2 Kgs 1), prophets (1 Kgs 18:40; 2 Kgs 5:20–27), messengers (2 Kgs 1:9–12), and others (2 Kgs 2:23–24; 5:20–27; 6:18) fall before the curses of Elijah and Elisha.⁶²

24:24), the Samaritans Simon (Acts 8:9–24) and Dositheus (Eusebius, *Hist eccl.* 4.22.4), and the court “magicians” Atomos (Josephus, *Ant.* 22.141–44) and Bar-Jesus Elymas (Acts 13:4–12).

⁶⁰ Vermes, *Jesus the Jew*, 72–78. Of particular interest for the study of IGT is the tradition that claims Hanina ben Dosa was Yohanan ben Zakkai’s pupil, and that credits him with curing Zakkai’s son (*b. Ber.* 34b). Also, several miracles attributed to Hanina recall the stories of *Jesus Stretches a Beam* and *Jesus Heals James* (*b. Ta’an* 25a; *t. Ber.* 3:20; *b. Ber.* 33a).

⁶¹ For more on Elijah in the gospel tradition see Morris M. Faierstein, “Why do the Scribes say Elijah Must Come First?” *JBL* 100 (1981): 75–86 and the responses by Dale C. Allison, “Elijah Must Come First,” *JBL* 103 (1984): 256–58 and Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “More About Elijah Coming First,” *JBL* 104 (1985): 295–96. Craig A. Evans (“Luke’s Use of the Elijah/Elisha Narratives and the Ethics of Election,” *JBL* 106 [1987]: 75–83) made a particular claim for Luke’s interest in these prophets.

⁶² Cast in a similar light are Elijah’s contemporaries Micaiah, who predicts King Jehoshaphat’s undoing (1 Kgs 22:5–28), an unnamed prophet who predicts the downfall of King Jeroboam and who is later killed by a lion for having disobeyed God (1 Kgs 13), and another unnamed prophet who, through God, sends a lion to kill a man who refused the prophet’s order to strike him (1 Kgs 20:35–36).

Both aspects of Elijah's and Elisha's characters, the blessings and the curses, contribute to the image of the rustic holy man that was known in Jesus' day. As apocalyptic expectations intensified, certain Jewish groups looked to these figures as men appointed by God to combat the forces of evil. The prophet in the style of Elijah and Elisha is applauded by Micah (3:1–13; 4:4–6) and Ben Sira (48:1–14), and Elijah's return was expected by eschatological Jews who followed John the Baptist and Jesus. Indeed, a number of Jesus' contemporaries are associated with Elijah on account of their similar abilities including Hanina ben Dosa (*b. Ber.* 61b), Honi (*Gen. Rab.* 13:7), John the Baptist (Mark 6:15; Luke 9:8), and Jesus himself (Mark 8:28 par; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.63).⁶³ As for curses, Artapanus credits Moses with a curse and subsequent revivification (fig. 3), and though he refused, Honi was expected by the men of Hyrcanus to place a curse on Aristobulus (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.22–24). In later times, the holy men of the hills surrounding Antioch also performed punitive miracles as displays of their power and authority.⁶⁴ The more irascible qualities in the holy man's personality excited alarm in those around him, but the divine authority behind the saint's power to curse apparently was not questioned.⁶⁵

⁶³ Josephus describes Jesus as a performer of "marvelous deeds," the same phrase he uses for Elijah (*Ant.* 9.182) (Vermes, *Jesus the Jew*, 78).

⁶⁴ The stories of the fourth/fifth century holy men are recorded by Theodoret in *Phil. hist.* Cursing miracles are here attributed to James of Nisibis, Julian, Peter the Galatian, Maësymas, and Acepsimas.

⁶⁵ The Pharisees were not favourable to these figures because they refused to conform in matters of behaviour and religious observance and because they posed a threat to the upholders of the established religious order. Nevertheless, they accepted the relationship between the saint and God. See William Scott Green, "Palestinian Holy Men: Charismatic Leadership and Rabbinic Tradition," *ANRW* 19.2 (1979): 625; Horsley and Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets, and Messiahs*, 153–60; Vermes, *Jesus the Jew*, 80–81. In a similar fashion, Theodoret was uncomfortable with some of the actions of his holy men but he justified the imprecations with reference to the canonical stories of the cursing of

It is precisely the image of the eschatological holy man in the style of Elijah that influenced some portrayals of Christian wonderworkers. This claim is not new. The similarities between the miracle cycles of Jesus and those of Elijah have been noted often; the imprecations, however, are rarely discussed. Yet even in the NT, Jesus curses the fig tree (Mark 11:12–22; Matt 21:18–19) and disbelieving towns (Luke 10:13–15), and permits the disciples to curse cities and individuals (Matt 10:11–15; Luke 9:5; 10:10–12). In addition, the Christians in Egypt responsible for the Magical Papyri had no hesitation about invoking Jesus' name in curses against their neighbours.⁶⁶ Still, Jesus' punitive acts are mild compared to those of his followers. In Acts, Peter engineers the deaths of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:1–11), and Paul blinds the false prophet Elymas (Acts 13:6–11).⁶⁷ The apostles are responsible for further punitive miracles in their non-canonical adventures: an unworthy woman is paralyzed when she receives the Eucharist at Paul's hands (*Acts Pet.* 2); Paul destroys the Temple of Apollo in Sidon (*Acts Paul* 5) and blinds a greedy son (*Acts Paul* 4); Peter prays and the flying Simon falls and breaks his legs (*Acts Pet.* 32); Peter heals his daughter only to return her to her afflicted state so that he can again use her to demonstrate God's power (*Act of Peter* from Berlin Coptic Papyrus 8502); an unworthy boy's hands wither when he takes the elements from Thomas (*Acts Thom.* 51), and a man dies as a result of slapping Thomas just as the apostle predicted (*Acts Thom.* 8). In *Acts John* the unrepentant are bitten by snakes (70–80) and John threatens the worshippers of Artemis with death, destroys their temple, and

Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:1–11) and Elisha's sending of a she-bear to maul the children who taunted him (2 Kgs 2:23–25) (*Phil. hist.* 1.5; 1.8).

⁶⁶ See the texts in Marvin Meyer and Richard Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1994), 183–225.

⁶⁷ Acts also features the gruesome death of Agrippa I, whose demise is attributed to the vengeance of God (12:20–23).

then restores life to a priest who perished in the destruction (37–47). The Apocryphal Acts take the discussion of the Jewish-style Holy Man outside the chronological period of the NT, and, given their resemblances to Greco-Roman Romance literature, perhaps even outside the Jewish thoughtworld.⁶⁸ The conflict at the root of the Apocryphal Acts is between Christian faith and the belief in magic, which grew in popularity at the end of the second century. Nevertheless, the apostles are still presented in this literature as holy men who demonstrate the greater power of God over the forces of evil.⁶⁹ As in the tales of the Jewish miracleworkers and the apostles in Acts, punitive miracles in the Apocryphal Acts serve as warnings against those who would oppose God and his agents.⁷⁰

It is in the thoughtworld of the eschatological prophet that IGT belongs. Commentators on the text have long been troubled over the *enfant terrible* of the tales but seldom has a connection been made with the Jewish holy men. Yet the fit is natural. Like Elijah and Elisha, IGT's Jesus purifies water, resuscitates the dead, and displays prophetic knowledge. And like the two prophets, he also curses those who would oppose him, and murders those who would simply annoy him. As with the Jewish and Christian holy men, the Jesus of IGT performs his miracles to demonstrate the power and authority of God, which, in the case of IGT and the other Christian texts, are embodied in Jesus himself. But unlike Acts and the Apocryphal Acts, IGT has no literary affinities with the Greco-Roman romances.

⁶⁸ Achtemeier ("Jesus and the Disciples," 168) characterizes the world of the Apocryphal Acts as "in many ways, the Hellenistic world in which magic and sorcery were quite at home."

⁶⁹ Ibid, 171.

⁷⁰ See Kee, *Miracle*, 220, 285–86. The author connects IGT to the thoughtworld of the Apocryphal Acts by their common use of punitive miracles.

IGT's Jesus, like the NT Jesus, appears to have much more in common with Jewish miracleworkers than with other Heroes of the Greco-Roman and wider world. Even the creation of Jesus' childhood stories parallels similar efforts by Jews to embroider the lives of the Biblical figures with omens at birth and tales from childhood. Philo and Josephus add such material to the life of Moses (*Moses* 1.5.20–24; 1.6.25–29; *Ant.* 2.9.2–3, 6, 7; 2.10.1–2), *1 Enoch* records omens and childhood prodigies for Noah (106:11–19), and *Jubilees* for Abraham (11:14–24), and further haggadic infancy and childhood stories are known of Isaac, Samson, Samuel, Elijah, and Ezra.⁷¹ However, childhood prodigies have little to do with assigning a figure to any particular biographical model. Childhood tales are told of numerous types of beings in the ancient world—gods and demi-gods, heroes and humans, great leaders and villainous tyrants, saints and saviours—and for a variety of reasons.

This realization helps to dispel the ill-conceived notions that IGT's Jesus is meant to be understood as a gnostic Redeemer or young Divine Man. Indeed, there is no reason to associate IGT with Gnosticism at all, nor for that matter with Divine Men, for the entire Divine Man theory rests on shaky foundations. Most importantly, it has been shown that any assessment of the christology behind the text must be made without thought to the fact that Jesus is here presented as a child. Previous scholars, incensed by what they saw as IGT's portrayal of Jesus as an *enfant terrible*, eagerly, and hastily, attributed the text either to pious yet gullible commoners or to clever yet deluded heretics. They failed to understand that the young Jesus appears to us as a disagreeable

⁷¹ For sources see Charles Perrot, "Les récits d'enfance dans la haggada antérieure au II^e siècle de notre ère," *RSR* 55 (1967): 481–518 and Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*

child because the author believed the adult Jesus displayed these same qualities. In some ways, such a portrayal is not wholly inconsistent with the Jesus of the NT, perhaps even the Jesus of history. Admittedly, the text could be used to support anti-adoptionist views—a feature of the gospel that accounts in part for its continued transmission—but that is not the motive behind its creation.

What is that motive? Why did the author of IGT feel compelled or inspired to compile or compose tales of Jesus as a child? Part of the answer to these questions has been hinted at already: to show, following convention, that Jesus' character, and with it his abilities, was already apparent at birth. But there is more to it than that. The complete answer cannot be ascertained without an understanding of how children were viewed in the ancient world and a complete evaluation of how these views are reflected in the works of adults. That is where we turn next.

(Abraham 1:189; Noah 1:146–47; Samuel 4:59–60). A childhood story of Elijah is recorded in *Liv. Pro.* 21:1–3.

CHAPTER 7

A Child's Life in Roman Antiquity

IGT is the story of an extraordinary childhood. Its subject is an extraordinary person. Previous attempts at tracing the origins of the gospel's tales have noted parallels in tales of similarly extraordinary people—immortals, cultural heroes, gods, emperors, and philosophers. Little attention has been paid, however, to understanding why childhood tales were told of any of these figures, Jesus included, and what forces shaped their characterization of childhood. Surveys of the literature tend to emphasize the subjects' connection to the divine as the origin of their adultlike qualities. But not all children in antiquity who were celebrated for their wisdom and maturity were divine. Such character traits are not, therefore, identifiers of divinity, though they are traits that a divine being, indeed any revered person, apparently must possess. All portrayals of esteemed children, it seems, contain qualities which the author or artist feels are appropriate for praising his or her subject. They are qualities which function to raise the subject above normal children. What is it, then, about childhood in antiquity that created an ideal in which all childlike characteristics are absent?

The portrayal of children by adults in antiquity (the ideal) cannot be understood without some knowledge of these children's lives (the real).¹ The two extremes, of

¹ A similar endeavour is attempted by Margaret Y. MacDonald, *Early Christian Women and Pagan Opinion: The Power of the Hysterical Woman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). MacDonald's subjects are the church women who are slandered

course, are not so far apart from one another, as children rarely were able to record their own experiences, beliefs, and emotions. All that we know about children, therefore, is filtered through the literary and artifactual remains left by adults—more specifically, male adults. Nevertheless, the study of the family in antiquity has itself grown and matured in recent years to the point where some aspects of life for a Mediterranean child can be reconstructed with confidence.

7.1 Methodological Issues.

Recovering the lives of children in the ancient Christian world is an exercise fraught with methodological problems. Of these problems, several are associated with the wider study of the family.² Historians in this field struggle, as all do, with the typical investigative tasks of acquiring sources and determining their meaning. Here, however, the literary sources—be they philosophical, theological, biographical, epistolary, or

by non-Christian writers. In trying to learn more about these women, she considers “how the lives of early Christian women were shaped by the stereotypical perceptions about women’s roles in religion and society” (ibid, 7).

² Some general challenges are outlined by Suzanne Dixon (*The Roman Mother* [London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1988], 7–8; idem, *The Roman Family* [Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1992], 17–18), as well as Miriam Peskowitz (“‘Family/ies’ in Antiquity: Evidence from Tannaitic Literature,” in *The Jewish Family in Antiquity* [ed. Shaye J. D. Cohen; BJS 289; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993], 14–15). Keith Hopkins’ “Seven Missing Papers” (in *Parenté et stratégies familiales dans l’antiquité romaine: Actes de la table ronde des 2–4 octobre 1986* [Paris, Maison de sciences de l’homme] [eds. Jean Andreau and Hinnerk Bruhns; Palais Farnèse: École Française de Rome, 1990], 623–30) offers a wry indictment of some typical approaches to the primary sources. Methodological problems associated with studying Christian families in particular are discussed by Halvor Moxnes (“What is Family? Problems in Constructing Early Christian Families,” in *Constructing Early Christian Families: Family as Social Reality and Metaphor* [ed. Halvor Moxnes; London/New York: Routledge, 1997], 13–41) and by Carolyn Osiek “The Family in Early Christianity: ‘Family Values’ Revisited,” *CBQ* 58.1 [1996]: 8–9).

fictional—must be viewed with suspicion as they view family life through a particularly narrow lens: from the position of the male, literate, sometimes even celibate, elite. Therefore, the authors' notions of the family and family members' individual roles reflect their own limited interests and are likely to be idealized. Even legal texts are prone to misinterpretation, for they often poorly reflect practice. They uphold outdated institutions or prescribe ideals. They also tend to discuss extraordinary cases.³ No source is immune from such difficulties. Even funerary archaeology, which offers a wealth of information on such issues as mortality rates, family relationships, and commemorative practice,⁴ is difficult to evaluate as the data provided by epitaphs is incomplete.

All of the sources for the history of the family, though plentiful, echo with uncomfortable silences. Most of them speak only for upper-class urban life.⁵ Slaves, ex-slaves, and freedpersons find their own voices, via epitaphs, only in death. The truly poor leave no record at all. Historical investigation is limited also in its capacity to report

³ David Kraemer ("Images of Childhood and Adolescence in Talmudic Literature," in *The Jewish Family: Metaphor and Memory* [ed. David Kraemer; New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989], 65–66) raises this point in connection with rabbinic texts; Beryl Rawson ("Adult-Child Relationships in Roman Society," in *Marriage, Divorce, and Children in Ancient Rome* [ed. Beryl Rawson; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991], 25–27) has similar cautions with regard to Roman law.

⁴ See Richard P. Saller, *Patriarchy, Property, and Death in the Roman Family* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 12–42, for a review of various scholars' use of epitaphs to determine mortality rates.

⁵ This unfortunate circumstance is continually mentioned as a caveat in the secondary literature. See Saller, *Patriarchy*, 4; Rawson, "Adult-Child Relationships," 29; Dixon, *The Roman Family*, 10; Richard Q. Bell and Lawrence V. Harper, *Child Effects on Adults* (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1977), 5; Hugh Cunningham, "The History of Childhood," in *Images of Childhood* (eds. C. Philip Hwang, Michael E. Lamb, and Irving E. Segal Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1996), 29. Not all literature, however, is strictly the province of the elite. The Bible (suggested by Ake Sander, "Images of the Child," in Hwang *et al.*, *Images of Childhood*, 16), proverbs (Jesús Palacios, "Proverbs as Images of Children and Childrearing," in Hwang *et al.*, *Images of Childhood*, 75–98), or plays (Bell and Harper, *Child Effects on Adults*, 5), may reflect, as well as influence, the experiences of ordinary people.

regional differences in family life. The majority of studies focus on Rome with the hope that the occupants of the capitol are representative of the entire Empire.⁶ There is reason to believe that there was considerable homogeneity between households, be they Christian, Jewish, or "pagan."⁷ The differences, however, should not be obscured. Given the difficulties involved in reconstructing the "typical" family, the historian must be content with generalities. As Saller writes, "the Roman social historian must settle for painting with a broader brush."⁸

Studying the lives of children in Roman antiquity presents its own particular set of problems.⁹ Children never speak for themselves in the sources. Their portrayals, by parents and other adults, are often highly idealized; and childhood itself is viewed with disdain by those who lived to write about it. Fortunately, it is the ideal that particularly

⁶ Peskowitz ("Family/ies' in Antiquity," 15) notes that the Tannaitic Sages seemed to recognize regional cultural differences when discussing roles within the family. Modern historians should do no less.

⁷ Several recent studies of the Jewish family have reached this conclusion. See James S. Jeffers, "Jewish and Christian Families in First-Century Rome," in *Judaism and Christianity in First-Century Rome* (eds. by Karl P. Donfried and Peter Richardson; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998), 129; Shaye J. D. Cohen, introduction to *The Jewish Family in Antiquity* (BJS 289; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 2-3; Adele Reinhartz, "Parents and Children: A Philonic Perspective," in Cohen, *The Jewish Family in Antiquity*, 87; Ross S. Kraemer, "Jewish Mothers and Daughters in the Greco-Roman World," in Cohen, *The Jewish Family in Antiquity*, 99. Classics scholars such as Saller (see *Patriarchy*, 232; and the discussion in Cunningham, "The History of Childhood," 28-29) have made efforts to distance themselves from nineteenth-century evolutionary theorizing that credited Christianity with bringing morality to a depraved Roman family. This overly negative assessment of the ancient family still finds support in late twentieth-century studies such as Lloyd de Mause, "The Evolution of Childhood" in *The History of Childhood* (ed. Lloyd de Mause; New York: Psychohistory Press, 1974), 1-73, and Paul Veyne, "The Roman Empire," in *A History of Private Life I: From Pagan Rome to Byzantium* (ed. Paul Veyne; trans. Arthur Goldhammer; Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1987), 5-233.

⁸ Saller, *Patriarchy*, 2.

⁹ Wiedemann (*Adults and Children*, 2-3), one of few writers to discuss extensively children in antiquity, believes the evidence for the Roman child's view of the world is

concerns us here. IGT reveals little, if anything, about the real experiences of children in the second century, but it can show how an idealized view of the child functioned in Christian thought.

The following survey endeavours to illustrate the forces that shaped the portrayal of the idealized child. It draws upon the major studies of recent decades that focus on the "Roman family,"¹⁰ a term referring as in Bradley's usage "not merely to the city of Rome and its inhabitants but to any place and people imbued with Roman culture in a broad sense."¹¹ Little work has been done on specifically Christian families,¹² less still on

"insufficient." He does, however, believe some aspects of their lives are recoverable, particularly in how adults see their place in the social world.

¹⁰ Including, but not limited to: Keith R. Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family: Studies in Roman Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Dixon, *The Roman Family*; idem, *The Roman Mother*; John K. Evans, *War, Women, and Children in Ancient Rome* (London/New York: Routledge, 1991), 166–209; Saller, *Patriarchy*; Veyne, "The Roman Empire"; Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*; and essays collected in David J. Kertzer and Richard P. Saller, eds., *The Family in Italy from Antiquity to the Present* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991); Beryl Rawson, ed., *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1986); idem, *Marriage, Divorce, and Children in Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); and Beryl Rawson and Paul Weaver, eds., *The Roman Family in Italy: Status, Sentiment, Space* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

¹¹ Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 4. "Roman family," in the present study is distinct from the Jewish family, which is treated separately. When the two correspond significantly in practice, the term "Mediterranean family" is used. The one hesitation in following the approach of the classicists arises when studying families in the outer regions of the Empire where Roman culture had made little impact in the period. In Syrian Edessa, for example, the household reflected Parthian customs (see J. B. Segal, *Edessa: "The Blessed City"* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970]). And Egypt too had some notable regional differences (see Naphtali Lewis, *Life in Egypt Under Roman Rule* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983]). Mention will be made where such differences affected the lives of children.

¹² Works include: Kevin Coyle, "Empire and Eschaton: The Early Church and the Question of Domestic Relations," *EgT* 12 (1981): 35–94; Jeffers, "Jewish and Christian Families"; Osiek, "The Family in Early Christianity"; Carolyn Osiek and David L. Balch, *Families in the New Testament World: Households and House Churches* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1997); O. Larry Yarbrough, "Parents and Children in the Letters of Paul," in *The Social World of the First Christians: Essays in Honor of Wayne A. Meeks* (eds. L. Michael White and O. Larry Yarbrough; Minneapolis: Fortress Press,

Jewish; nevertheless, their conclusions are significant and also contribute much to the discussion.¹³ Special attention will be paid here to the time period of nascent Christianity (the first two centuries of the era), to differences between Jewish and "pagan" family life and how they interact with one another, and to the lower classes to which Diaspora Jews and Christians primarily belonged.¹⁴ Given that IGT draws upon a wide variety of sources (Jewish and non-Jewish) and influences (lower-class "folk" stories given upper-class literary form), the entire spectrum of views on children must be brought to bear in determining the roots of its portrayal of the young Jesus.

7.2 The World of Mediterranean Families.

Roman, Jewish, and Christian families in the Mediterranean lived in a traditional preindustrial society.¹⁵ At the economic and administrative head sat the aristocratic families who constituted three percent of the population. Serving their needs were a small

1995), 126–41 (which deals with a time period too early for the present study); essays collected in Moxnes, *Constructing Early Christian Families*; and Geoffrey S. Nathan, *The Family in Late Antiquity: The Rise of Christianity and the Endurance of Tradition* (London/New York: Routledge, 2000), particularly pp. 15–54.

¹³ Jewish studies are limited to the essays in Cohen (*The Jewish Family*), individual essays by D. Kraemer ("Images of Childhood") and Jeffers ("Jewish and Christian Families"), and the earlier surveys in Moore (*Judaism*, 2:119–40) and Safrai and Stern, *The Jewish People*, 2:728–92.

¹⁴ Jeffers characterizes this "lower class" as noncitizens, Greek-speaking slaves, former slaves, and freeborn non-Romans ("Jewish and Christian Families," 129; see also Osiek and Balch, *Families in the New Testament World*, 97; Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983], 51–73).

¹⁵ See the description in Osiek and Balch, *Families in the New Testament World*, 36–37.

class of retainers: slaves and freedpersons occupying positions as governmental and religious functionaries and bureaucrats. Below these were the merchants and artisans. Outside the cities there lived the peasants who comprised the vast majority of the society at 93 percent of the population.¹⁶ Between the elites and nonelites there stretched an enormous economic gulf; the two groups essentially represent the upper and lower classes of the society. There was no "middle" class to speak of.¹⁷ However, Mediterranean society separated itself more by status than by class. Those with citizenship could take part in civic life, be legally married, retain property, and receive the protections of the law. Those without—slaves and freedpersons and those in abject poverty—had none of these privileges, though they aspired to acquire them. Hardest affected by the distinction between the two groups were the slaves, who constituted 35 percent of the population.¹⁸ They were routinely beaten, sexually exploited, and exchanged between masters without thought for the disruption of slave families. The master-slave relationship was one of power, and the slaveowner was always quick to remind the slave of his or her place. As can be expected, the quality of life for a child in this society was greatly affected by the class into which he or she was born.

But there were far worse times and places for children to have lived. Indeed, the first few centuries of the Common Era were a dynamic age for parent-child relations. The peace brought by Augustus ushered in an era when family and children were featured prominently in legislation and propaganda. Beryl Rawson, among others, relates this positive revaluation of family life to efforts of the emperors to increase citizen birth rates,

¹⁶ Ibid, 37.

¹⁷ Ibid, 91–94; Meeks, *The First Urban Christians*, 53–55.

¹⁸ Osiek and Balch, *Families in the New Testament World*, 76.

and to promote stability in the empire.¹⁹ These efforts are represented in imperial art and iconography—for example, the prominence of children in the *Ara Pacis* (see fig. 7.1), and the placement of images of Augustus' children on coins²⁰—and are put into operation in such legislation as Augustus' rewards for childrearing, Trajan's *alimenta* scheme in aid of poor children (with accompanying commemorative coins), and various legal efforts in the second-century to relax status restrictions.²¹ The cumulative effect was a connection of children to the good of the country. And it appears to have had some effect. From around the time of Augustus, children and family were increasingly represented in funerary reliefs. Actual positive change in the treatment and valuation of children, however, does not match the frequency of their iconographic representation.²² It is not until closer to the fourth century that children start to be seen as something more than adults-in-the-making. Nevertheless, Augustus and his successors brought the need for and the needs of children into discussion, thereby paving the way for the changes that were to come.

¹⁹ Beryl Rawson, "The Iconography of Roman Childhood" (in Rawson and Weaver, *The Roman Family in Italy*, 205–32). For more information see D. E. E. Kleiner, "The Great Friezes of the Ara Pacis Augustae: Greek Sources, Roman Derivatives and Augustan Social Policy," *MEFR* 90 (1978): 772–76.

²⁰ The Jewish king Agrippa I also placed the young Agrippa II's image on several coins. See Ya'akov Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, Vol. 2, *Herod the Great Through Bar Cochba* (New York: Amphora Books, 1982), 52–54.

²¹ Rawson brings second-century developments into the discussion in "The Iconography of Roman Childhood," 224–32. For more on *alimenta* see Rawson, "Adult-Child Relationships," 23–24.

²² Janet Huskinson's response to Rawson, "Iconography: Another Perspective" (in Rawson and Weaver, *The Roman Family in Italy*, 233–38), points out some of the difficulties in assessing representations of children. See further section 8.2.1 below.



Fig. 7.1: Detail from the *Ara Pacis*.
Reproduced from Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, pl. 2.

7.3 Mediterranean Families.

The Roman family was structurally far different from modern families in the West. A typical wealthy household comprised much more than the nuclear family. At the head stood the *pater familias*, the oldest surviving male ascendant. He held power over all those within the household including his wife and children as well as those freedpersons or slaves and their children who dwelled therein. Married children living outside the household also remained under his authority.²³ These marriages were arranged by parents,²⁴ but a spouse would not be chosen from among the child's own kin.

²³ Beryl Rawson, "The Roman Family," in Rawson, *The Family in Ancient Rome*, 7–8.

²⁴ Legally, the *pater familias* chose his children's mates. Saller (*Patriarchy*, 127–29), however, points out that these decisions more likely were made with the consent of the child's mother as well as the child. Also, daughters who remarry and sons, who normally

Unlike Greeks and Egyptians, Romans opposed endogamous marriages.²⁵ Couples who were not compatible could easily divorce at either spouse's initiative.²⁶ Incidentally, marital affection was not expected in the Roman family; most couples were content with a measure of *concordia*.²⁷ The frequency of divorce and remarriage in Roman times²⁸ meant that the home could be populated by the products of a number of relationships.²⁹ In

marry later than daughters, may have had no surviving parents to dictate their marital decisions. See further Susan Treggiari, "Ideals and Practicalities in Matchmaking in Ancient Rome," in Kertzer and Saller, *The Family in Italy*, 96–99; Dixon, *The Roman Family*, 50.

²⁵ Lewis, *Life in Egypt*, 43–44. Endogamy was useful as it preserved the family's status and prevented the splintering of inheritances.

²⁶ Bradley (*Discovering the Roman Family*, 127) states that "to marry for love at Rome was to engage in a socially deviant form of behaviour." Husbands desiring sexual satisfaction would find it outside of the marital relationship. Wives, however, were expected to tolerate such conduct and were forbidden to enter into adulterous affairs of their own (ibid, 128–29; see also Osiek and Balch, *Families in the New Testament World*, 60–64).

²⁷ Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 18; Treggiari, "Ideals and Practicalities," 104–8; Emiel Eyben, *Restless Youth in Ancient Rome* (London/New York: Routledge, 1993), 238–40. Many epitaphs applaud the deceased by stating, rather dispassionately, that the person lived with her or his spouse "without complaint" (Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 18). For a look at some of these epitaphs see Jane F. Gardner and Thomas Wiedemann, *The Roman Household: A Sourcebook* (London/New York: Routledge, 1991), 47–55. Marriages between Roman soldiers and provincial women break the stereotype of the loveless Roman marriage. These kinds of unions were made without concern for family alliances and citizenship. For a look at their family relationships see Dixon, *The Roman Family*, 55–58.

²⁸ Bradley (*Discovering the Roman Family*, 160) proposes a remarriage rate of 39 percent.

²⁹ See Bradley (*Discovering the Roman Family*, 156–76; idem, "Remarriage and the Structure of the Upper-Class Roman Family" in Rawson, *Marriage, Divorce, and Children*, 79–98) for some examples of extremely complicated family structures. See further Susan Treggiari, "Divorce Roman Style: How Easy and How Frequent was it?" in Rawson, *Marriage, Divorce, and Children*, 31–46; and Mireille Corbier, "Divorce and Adoption as Roman Familial Strategies (le Divorce et l'adoption 'en plus')," in Rawson, *Marriage, Divorce, and Children in Ancient Rome*, 47–78. In her discussion, Corbier notes the efforts of the upper classes to engineer divorces for political strategy and kinship alliances (60–63; see also idem, "Constructing Kinship in Rome: Marriage and Divorce, Filiation and Adoption," in Kertzer and Saller, *The Family in Italy*, 136–39; Treggiari, "Ideals and Practicalities," 102–4).

citizen marriages, the children remained with the father.³⁰ Some children, therefore, rarely saw their mothers and may not have formed strong bonds with their stepmothers and stepsiblings. Among the household slaves and freedpersons, marriages were not recognized by law. Unions were made,³¹ sometimes against slaves' wishes,³² but these could be broken at the whim of the slaveowner to sell his property. Even slave children could be taken from their parents at an early age and sold.³³ When noncitizen couples separated, their children remained with the mother.³⁴ High mortality, particularly among the lower classes, also contributed to the creation of blended families.³⁵

Despite the evidence for considerable variety of structure in the Roman household, a number of sources promote an ideal form of the family consonant with the modern conception of the nuclear family. Examining images from literature, art and epitaphs, Dixon sees in them the promotion of a family model in which the young married couple is bound by sexual attraction, supports each other's wishes, and remains partners throughout life. The sources also show parents delighting in their children and

³⁰ Rawson, "The Roman Family," 35–36.

³¹ Dixon, *The Roman Family*, 53.

³² Note the case of Josephus who was forced to marry by his master Vespasian (*Life* 414–15).

³³ Beryl Rawson ("Family Life Among the Lower Classes at Rome in the First Two Centuries of the Empire," *Classical Philology* 61.2 [1966]: 79; also Dixon, *The Roman Family*, 10) notes that citizenship could be awarded to a slave woman who breeds new slaves for her master. Paul Weaver ("The Status of Children in Mixed Marriages," in Rawson, *The Family in Ancient Rome*, 155–56), however, believes the majority of children born to slaves were born prior to the mother's manumission.

³⁴ Lower-class marriages between couples of varying status made for complications in determining the status of their children. See further Weaver, "The Status of Children"; idem, "Children of Freedmen (and Freedwomen)" in Rawson, *Marriage, Divorce, and Children*, 166–90; and idem, "Children of Junian Latins" in Rawson and Weaver, *The Roman Family in Italy*, 55–72; also Jane F. Gardner, "Legal Stumbling-Blocks for Lower-Class Families in Rome," in Rawson and Weaver, *The Roman Family in Italy*, 35–54; on soldiers' offspring see Dixon, *The Roman Family*, 55–58.

deeply mourning their deaths.³⁶ Though aware of the large distance between this ideal and reality, Dixon does find some evidence for the actualization of the model, particularly in Cicero's letters and in epitaphs celebrating *univirae*, women who spent their entire lives with one husband.³⁷ For the ideal to have maintained meaning, Dixon writes, it must have been achieved on occasion.

Though the number of people dwelling in the Roman household could be quite large, the nuclear family was relatively small. Two or three children seems to have been the norm. High infant mortality contributed to this pattern, but families of all classes also consciously sought to limit the number of children in their household. The reasons were primarily economic: the wealthy had to be careful about splitting the family fortunes,³⁸ while the poor had to be able to feed and house their progeny.³⁹ Slaves, however, had little choice in the matter—a slaveowner may have required the production of new property, or, if not, could simply kill unwanted newborns. Nevertheless, having children was important in Roman culture; indeed, it is frequently cited in ancient sources as the very purpose of marriage.⁴⁰ Children were necessary also for continuing the family name,⁴¹ and for ensuring the proper care and burial for their parents.⁴² Yet, as important

³⁵ Rawson, "The Roman Family," 37. See further the discussion in Dixon, *The Roman Mother*, 20–34.

³⁶ Suzanne Dixon, "The Sentimental Ideal of the Roman Family," in Rawson, *Marriage, Divorce, and Children*, 99–113. See also Corbier, "Divorce and Adoption," 49.

³⁷ Dixon, *The Roman Family*, 84–89.

³⁸ Saller, *Patriarchy*, 161.

³⁹ The accommodations of the lower-classes were typically quite humble, crowded, and vulnerable to disease. For a description of such homes in Rome see Jeffers, "Jewish and Christian Families," 131–33 and Osiek and Balch, *Families in the New Testament World*, 31–32; in Galilee, see Santiago Guijarro, "The Family in First-Century Galilee," in Moxnes, *Constructing Early Christian Families*, 42–65.

⁴⁰ Rawson, "The Roman Family," 9.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 42–43.

as these considerations were, they did not seem to be strong enough incentive for the citizen-class; their declining populations led legislators to actively encourage them to rear children.⁴³ These efforts were criticized at the time out of fear that couples may try to have children specifically to gain rewards.⁴⁴ But the critics need not have worried. The birthrate of the senatorial and equestrian class saw little change, and a century after Augustus' first legislative efforts, it was a literary commonplace that childlessness was rewarded socially, regardless of the penalties.⁴⁵ Those concerned about the endurance of the family name could simply adopt an adult male. That way a couple could avoid the "messiness" of childhood, and the parents knew exactly what they were getting as an heir.⁴⁶

⁴² See further section 7.6 below. Other factors beyond simple choice, however, could impact birth rates. Osiek and Balch (*Families in the New Testament World*, 65) point to the case of Herculaneum where water was brought into the luxurious houses by pipes made of lead.

⁴³ For details on the legislation see Richard I. Frank, "Augustus' Legislation on Marriage and Children," *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 8 (1976): 41–52; and Dixon, *The Roman Mother*, 71–103. Rewards were offered for providing the state with three children; punishments or chastisements were meted out for refusing to have children or for not having enough. Romans were free also to limit their family size through contraception and abortion (see J. Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* [New York: Pantheon, 1988], 58 n. 8) though a woman could encounter disapproval if these methods were perceived to be used to deprive her husband of a potential heir (see Rawson, "Adult-Child Relationships," 9; Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 35; Dixon, *The Roman Mother*, 62).

⁴⁴ Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers*, 58.

⁴⁵ Dixon, *The Roman Family*, 120–21; idem, *The Roman Mother*, 97.

⁴⁶ Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 34–35. If an outlet for either parental affection or abuse was desired, a child could be adopted also from the slave pool (Dixon, *The Roman Family*, 112–13). Such relationships often terminated when the child reached maturity or achieved manumission. For a discussion of *alumni* and *vernae*—lower-class foster children raised (typically) by upper-class couples to pass on the family name and fortune, and by the lower-classes to learn a trade—see Beryl Rawson, "Children in the Roman Familia," in Rawson *The Family in Ancient Rome*, 170–200. On adoption as political strategy see Corbier, "Divorce and Adoption," 63–76.

The structure and size of the family was not appreciably different among Jews. The role played by the *pater familias* was evident also in Judaism, both in Biblical traditions and in the Roman era.⁴⁷ Jews owned slaves and were slaves,⁴⁸ the latter situation being more common after the revolts of the time. As in Roman families, marriage was considered the sole legitimate goal of the marital relationship (note Philo *Spec. Laws* 3.113; 3.36, 1.112, 1.138),⁴⁹ and the motives for rearing children included the production of legitimate heirs, the protection of a kind of geneological purity, and the perpetuation of the family line.⁵⁰ Childbearing received further encouragement through religious obligation. Scripture continually urges Jews to "be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth..." (Gen 1:27–28), it portrays couples striving to overcome the wretchedness of childlessness (Gen 30:1–22; 1 Sam 1; Deut 25:5–10), and in the Psalms (127:3–5; 128:3–6) and apocalyptic literature (e.g. Mal 4:5–6; 1 En. 100:1–2; Zech 8:5) a harmonious, abundant family life is held up as an ideal.⁵¹ Adoption was also practiced but Jews seem

⁴⁷ For a survey of biblical practice see Tikva Frymer-Kensky, "Families in Ancient Israel," in *The Family Handbook* (ed. Herbert Anderson et al.; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 278–80. In connection with Philo, see Reinhartz, "Parents and Children," 77.

⁴⁸ Dale B. Martin, "Slavery and the Ancient Jewish Family," in Cohen, *The Jewish Family in Antiquity*, 113; Peskowitz, "'Family/ies' in Antiquity," 14–15; Moore, *Judaism*, 2: 135–40; Safrai and Stern, *The Jewish People*, 2:751–52; Osiek and Balch, *Families in the New Testament World*, 76. Jeffers ("Jewish and Christian Families," 147–49) lists primary sources on Jews as slaves. He notes also that slave Jews tended to emulate the practices of their host families, in part because their religio-cultural activities were restricted in the Roman household.

⁴⁹ On the divine ordinance of marriage see Moore, *Judaism*, 2:119–20; Safrai and Stern, *The Jewish People*, 2:750. For more on Philo see Reinhartz, "Parents and Children," 69.

⁵⁰ Peskowitz, "'Family/ies' in Antiquity," 20.

⁵¹ See the concise overview of scripture references in Judith M. Gundry-Volf, "The Least and the Greatest: Children in The New Testament," in *The Child in Christian Thought* (ed. Marcia J. Bunge; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2000), 34–36. O. Larry Yarbrough ("Parents and Children in the Jewish Family of Antiquity," in Cohen, *The Jewish Family in Antiquity*, 59) suggests looking further at apocalyptic literature for hints

to have required less incentive than upper-class Romans to bear their own children.⁵² The typical number of children in the Jewish family was also three, though two is prescribed in rabbinic literature as the fulfillment of the commandment (*m. Yebam.* 6.6 and *m. 'Ed.* 1.13).⁵³ Divorce was legal among Jews, but not as readily entered into. In the event of dissolution, fathers always retained guardianship,⁵⁴ though polygamous marriages may have provided an avenue for Jewish mothers to stay with their children.⁵⁵ Again, if slaves, Jews would have had little choice as to how many children they would conceive or rear.

Judged by modern standards, the Mediterranean household was a less than ideal environment for raising children.⁵⁶ The household was a dynamic, complex unit, with various comings and goings among slaves and slaveowners. Motives for childrearing appear solely self-serving, either for the individual or the state/community; there is little evidence that couples desired children purely for the joy of the experience, though affective considerations are unlikely to be discussed in the sources. Children were apparently valued by their parents, but most often, it seems, as a means of providing for the future care and perpetuation of the family.

at ideal parent-child relationships. A similar description of filial impiety in anarchic times can be found in Hesiod, *Op.* 174–89, and Mark 13:12 par.

⁵² Contraception was allowed in certain cases, though primarily for the health of a pregnant woman (Safrai and Stern, *The Jewish People*, 2:764).

⁵³ Yarbrough, "Parents and Children," 41.

⁵⁴ R. Kraemer, "Jewish Mothers and Daughters," 104.

⁵⁵ Though legal according to Mosaic law, polygamy was not common among Palestinian Jews in this period (see Moore, *Judaism*, 2:122; Safrai and Stern, *The Jewish People*, 2:749–50). The Babatha archive, however, provides some evidence for the practice at the time of Bar Kochba. According to Jeffers ("Jewish and Christian Families, 136), there is no evidence of any polygamy among Jews in Rome.

⁵⁶ Saller (*Patriarchy*, 95–96) acknowledges the fluidity of the wealthy Roman family but questions the ability to measure how these circumstances affected bonds between parents and children.

7.4 Birth and Infancy.

Infancy in Roman times was a period in a child's life fraught with danger. Many children did not survive childbirth, nor did their mothers; others were lucky simply to survive the precarious first week of life. Those who did then had to pass through a perilous gauntlet of disease, inadequate parenting skills, physical and sexual abuse, and long days of rigorous labour.

Childbirth came early in a world where girls were betrothed as children. In both Jewish and non-Jewish societies, a girl could marry at the onset of puberty; betrothal could take place earlier, even at birth for imperial families.⁵⁷ Two Jewish inscriptions from Rome, for example, record marriages of girls at 12 years of age (*CIJ* 69, 105). Another (*CIJ* 141) illustrates the potential proximity in age between a mother and her daughter. In it Dulcitia memorializes her mother Melitium, who died at the age of 29. Typically, however, the average age of first marriage for girls was in the late teens.⁵⁸ Men, on the other hand, tended to marry at an age closer to 30.⁵⁹ The young age at which women gave birth contributed to high infant mortality already made dangerous by disease and inadequate medical knowledge.⁶⁰ In the first months of life, 23–30 percent of infants

⁵⁷ Rawson, "The Roman Family," 21.

⁵⁸ Saller, *Patriarchy*, 41.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ For an overview of living conditions and their effect on infant mortality see Saller, *Patriarchy*, 21. Robert Etienne ("Ancient Medical Conscience and the Life of Children," *Journal of Psychohistory* 4.2 [1976]: 152–53) notes the lack of interest in infants shown by the medical writers. "No doctor," he writes, "seems to have been thoroughly interested in it...one can also wonder whether the sick child was not, as the weak infant, considered as not deserving to live." See also Rawson, "Adult-Child Relationships," 15; Peter Garnsey, "Child Rearing in Ancient Italy," in Kertzer and Saller, *The Family in Italy*, 56–59; Jean-Pierre Néraudau, *Être enfant à Rome* (Paris: Société d'Édition Les Belles Lettres, 1984), 74–83.

died (as opposed to one percent today in the developed world); 50 percent did not reach the age of 10.⁶¹ With such a high incidence of infant death, parents were cautious about forming attachments to their offspring. As a result, children were not named until the eighth day (for girls) or ninth day (for boys) of life,⁶² and the death of newborns was rarely commemorated.⁶³

Just as epitaphs seldom record the deaths of infants, they are silent also about the incidence of infant exposure.⁶⁴ It was perfectly legal in the Empire for fathers to expose a child deemed unfit or inconvenient to live.⁶⁵ Many of the victims were from poor families who could not afford to feed another mouth.⁶⁶ Slave children were exposed at the whim

⁶¹ Saller, *Patriarchy*, 25. See also the discussions in Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 11–17; and Garnsey, "Child Rearing," 51–52.

⁶² Augustus' *lex Iulia et Papia* did not consider parents eligible to receive the benefits of the legislation until they had three children who survived to their naming ceremonies (Rawson, "Adult-Child Relationships," 14).

⁶³ Note Cicero's reflection on infant mortality: "the same grumblers think that if a small child dies, the loss must be borne calmly; if an infant in the cradle, there must not even be a lament" (*Tusc.* 1.93 [King, LCL]). And consider also the gravestone of Julia Pothousa (*JG* 5.2.413), an Arcadian girl of 12 whose parents wished she had died younger, before they had grown so attached to her. For representative infant commemoration statistics and funerary customs see Garnsey, "Child Rearing," 52–53 and Brent Shaw, "The Cultural Meaning of Death," in Kertzer and Saller, *The Family in Italy*, 70–71. Scholars debate the effect of high infant mortality on the emotional investment which parents placed in their newborn children (see Mark Golden, "Did the Ancients Care When Their Children Died?" *GR* 35 [1988]: 152–63 for an overview of the discussion). For her part, Dixon (*The Roman Family*, 99–100) believes high infant mortality did lead to parental detachment but the lack of commemoration need not imply that the children were not mourned; parents may have neglected to mark their child's death for such reasons as social pressure or lack of money.

⁶⁴ For a thorough discussion of exposure see Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers*, 53–179.

⁶⁵ Veyne ("The Roman Empire," 11) adds political factors: "when the well-loved prince Germanicus died, the plebs indicated their displeasure with the god's government by smashing their temples, and some parents apparently exposed their infants."

⁶⁶ Some peasants gave extra offspring to others (Veyne, "The Roman Empire," 10), some sold them to slave-traffickers (*ibid.*, 55), or lost them in a pledge against a debt (Osiek and Balch, *Family in the New Testament World*, 78). Ancient commentators, even Jewish and Christian writers, are more forgiving of exposure committed by the poor. Pseudo-Quintilian distinguishes between exposure by the rich, who hoped never to see their child

of the head of the household. Even the rich abandoned children, though for more selfish reasons: if the child was discovered to be illegitimate, or was likely to affect the distribution of the family property—new males could split inheritances, or break a will,⁶⁷ new females required costly dowries.⁶⁸ Exposed children either died or, as hoped, were picked up by strangers. In such cases they might be adopted,⁶⁹ or raised for profit as slaves, prostitutes, or beggars.⁷⁰ Though the practice of exposure was legal and widespread, ancient writers seem uneasy about the issue. In fiction and myth,⁷¹ abandonment turns out happily, indicating, on the one hand, acknowledgment of the practice, and on the other, a desire for these children to survive and prosper.⁷² Roman law even provides some avenues for the parents or relatives to reclaim an abandoned or sold child. By preserving the real father's rights, the laws allowed an enslaved child to regain

again, and the poor, who, compelled only by poverty, did all they could to ensure that the infant might someday be reclaimed (see Veyne, "The Roman Empire," 11); Aelian (*Var. hist.* 2.7) writes against abandonment but is sympathetic to the sale of children by the poor; and Plutarch (*Mor.* 497E) claims the poor considered their lives so miserable that they chose not to rear children out of love for them.

⁶⁷ Rawson ("Adult-Child Relationships," 10) believes there is little explicit evidence that children were aborted or killed for this reason.

⁶⁸ Given the lower social value, and high cost, of females in antiquity, girls were more likely to be exposed. However, evidence for higher female exposure is difficult to find. The notorious letter of Hilarion (*P. Oxy.* 4.744), with the writer's cavalier command to his wife to cast out their newborn child if it is female, points in that direction, as does Augustus' allowance for any citizen who was not a senator to marry freedwomen because "among the nobility there were far more males than females" (Dio, *Hist.* 54.16.2 [Cary, LCL]). Yet, Rawson finds no clear evidence of a serious imbalance of the sexes in the Roman population ("The Roman Family," 18; idem, "Adult-Child Relationships," 11; see also Veyne, "The Roman Empire," 9).

⁶⁹ In Egypt it was illegal to adopt foundlings (Lewis, *Life in Egypt*, 58).

⁷⁰ Dixon, *The Roman Family*, 129; Veyne, "The Roman Empire," 9; Evans, *War, Women and Children*, 169

⁷¹ Boswell lists among the prominent victims of exposure the twin sons who founded Rome, Oedipus, Ion (founder of the Ionians), Cyrus (founder of the Persian empire), Jupiter, and a number of other members of the Greco-Roman pantheon (*The Kindness of Strangers*, 76–77; see also Néraudeau, *Être enfant*, 192–202).

⁷² Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers*, 76–79.

freedom. These laws, however, reflect more of an anxiety over status than affection or remorse.⁷³ They also reinforce the difference in value between a wanted and an unwanted child. Indeed, the acceptance of abandonment in Roman and other preindustrial societies appears to have no connection to the quality of care for those children who survived.⁷⁴ Stringent penalties for kidnapping,⁷⁵ but not abandonment, further prove that the state was prepared to support parents' choices to rear or not to rear their children.

Jewish children were far less likely to fall victim to exposure. Though the biblical record of the practice is not unblemished,⁷⁶ Jews in the Roman period were known for, and even ridiculed for, their reluctance to expose unwanted children.⁷⁷ Philo writes against it (*Spec. Laws* 3.116; and note his changes to the Moses story in *Moses* 1.10–11), and Josephus (*Ag. Ap.* 2.24) claims Jewish law prohibited it. Nevertheless, there is some evidence for infanticide among Jews.⁷⁸ The *Mishnah* (*Ketub.* 4.6) too reports that a father is not required to maintain a daughter.⁷⁹ Subsequent commentary in the *Talmud* states that there is no legal obligation to maintain either sons or daughters, but there is a moral

⁷³ Ibid, 65–68. See further Rawson "Children in the Roman *Familia*," 172–73. The same anxiety over status is reflected in laws against *suppositio*, the passing off of foundlings as biological heirs (Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers*, 74).

⁷⁴ Garnsey, "Child Rearing," 50–51; Golden, "Did the Ancients Care," 158.

⁷⁵ See Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers*, 74. Kidnapping was a capital crime.

⁷⁶ Boswell (*The Kindness of Strangers*, 139) cites numerous examples of, or acknowledgment of, abandonment (e.g. Moses in Exod 2; Ezekiel's extended metaphor of Israel as an abandoned child in 16:4–5), parental sacrifice (e.g. Gen 22; Judg 9:5; 11:30–40; 2 Kgs 11; 2 Chr 22:10–12), the execution of children (Lev 26:29; Deut 28:53–56; 2 Kgs 6:28–29; Jer 19:9; Ezek 5:10; Lam 2:20), infanticide (2 Kgs 8:12; Ps 137:9; Hos 13:16 [14:1]; Exod 1:22), and the selling of children (Gen 19, 37; Exod 21:7; 2 Kgs 4:1; Neh [2 Esd] 5:1, 2, 5; Amos 2:6, 8:6).

⁷⁷ R. Kraemer, "Jewish Mothers and Daughters," 108 n. 50 lists the primary sources.

⁷⁸ As evidence, R. Kraemer ("Jewish Mothers and Daughters," 108) cites CPJ 421, a tax register from Arsinoe (Egypt) dated to 73 C.E. The register mentions a 20-year-old Jewish mother of two, and two 22-year-old mothers each with one child. The CPJ editors adduce the difference, among other reasons, to the possibility of exposure.

⁷⁹ See the discussion in Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers*, 150–52.

one. The poor are exempted, however. And, as in Roman law, the *Talmud* makes rulings on marriage rights of foundlings and the parents' rights to reclaim the child. In Talmudic times, at least, the reality of abandonment among Jews is far removed from the ideal.



Fig. 7.2: The mid-second century sarcophagus of M. Cornelius Statius features an idealized representation of the changing roles of the father with his son. Reproduced from Janet Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, pl. 2.1.⁸⁰

Even those parents who chose to rear their offspring may have had little interest in affective bonding with their children. Within upper-class households, wetnurses commonly took charge of nurturing newborns.⁸¹ The wetnurse, or *nutrix*, was the child's primary caregiver for the first three years and was even charged with teaching the child to speak.⁸² Wealthier households may have employed also a male assistant.⁸³ However, the practice of wetnursing need not imply indifference to the child's care; as today, some

⁸⁰ Janet Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi: Their Decoration and its Social Significance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

⁸¹ For a detailed study of wet-nursing see Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 13–36 (=“Wet-nursing at Rome: a Study in Social Relations,” 201–29 in Rawson, *The Family in Ancient Rome*); also Dixon, *The Roman Mother*, 120–29; and Evans, *War, Women and Children*, 127–30. For information on the immediate care of newborns, including swaddling, cradles, length of nursing, see Etienne, “Ancient Medical Conscience,” 144–48; for the rituals that attended birth see Rawson, “Adult-Child Relationships,” 13–14; Garnsey, “Child Rearing,” 52–53; Dixon, *The Roman Family*, 101; and Osiek and Balch, *Families in the New Testament World*, 83.

⁸² Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 26. To this end, Quintilian recommends selecting servants who can speak well (*Inst.* 1.1.5).

⁸³ Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 50.

women died in childbirth, and some mothers were either unable or unwilling to nurse.⁸⁴ Furthermore, the lower classes sometimes used wetnurses to avoid disruption in full-time employment or servitude, and the upper classes to space children closer together.⁸⁵ The quality of care could vary with the ability of the nurse;⁸⁶ for instance, infants were susceptible to malnourishment if the nurse fed her own children first.⁸⁷ The slave nurse could even resent suckling her master's children.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, affective ties between children and their nurses could and did last throughout their lifetimes,⁸⁹ perhaps to the detriment of the relationship between the children and their mothers.⁹⁰ Wetnursing was also a practice in Jewish families, though certainly it was not as widespread. The Hebrew prophets and the *Mishnah* oblige mothers to nurse; however, when sickness or death rendered the mother unavailable, the family had no choice but to employ a wetnurse.⁹¹

⁸⁴ Ibid, 26.

⁸⁵ Garnsey, "Child Rearing," 51.

⁸⁶ Etienne ("Ancient Medical Conscience," 148–49) cites a number of writers (Soranus, Aristophanes, Sextus Empiricus, Tacitus, Aulus Gellius) who point out the inadequacies of nurses and the haphazard way a nurse typically was selected. Soranus and Oribasius each detail criteria for choosing a wetnurse.

⁸⁷ Given the inadequate advice given to mothers on weaning strategies and the erroneous devaluation of colostrum, malnourishment was common no matter who nursed the child (see Garnsey, "Child Rearing," 62–65).

⁸⁸ The wetnurse's own loss of an infant, a situation that makes her capable of nursing, also may affect her emotional well-being (Garnsey, "Child Rearing," 61).

⁸⁹ Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 20; Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 144–45; Dixon, *The Roman Mother*, 32–33. However, the disciplined child, Martial writes (11.29), is expected to assert his or her social superiority as an adult and cut the ties to low-status caregivers.

⁹⁰ A popular saying has it that the grief of a nurse was second only to that of a mother (Publilius Syrus, *Maxims* 659). Rawson ("Adult-Child Relationships," 29) and Wiedemann (*Adults and Children*, 16–17) admit the possibility that physical distancing brought with it emotional distancing. This is precisely why Favorinus (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. att.* 12.1.23) spoke against wetnursing. Consider also the comment by Gillian Clark ("The Fathers and the Children," in *The Church and Childhood* [ed. Diane Wood; SCH 31; Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994], 9) that a mother already may have felt distanced from her child since she could choose neither her partner nor the time of her pregnancy.

⁹¹ Safrai and Stern, *The Jewish People*, 2:768.

In many cases, the *nutrix* would have provided far better care for the infant than its own parents. With girls marrying and having children as young as twelve, their parenting abilities would scarcely have been adequate. Unlike today, fathers would have felt no responsibility to assist their partners and even may have been absent from the home for long stretches of time due to state business abroad or forced separation by the slaveowner.⁹² The connection between the nurse and infant, therefore, was likely the most meaningful relationship of the child's early years.

To many Mediterranean infants parents were virtual strangers, in some cases even assassins. The child chosen to be reared would spend most of her or his first years in the company of a surrogate parent; the child lucky to be saved after exposure could spend life in a hell of his or her "benefactor's" making, or, in rare cases, a life of luxury as a wealthy citizen's pet; the rest either died in a midwife's warm arms or on a cold garbage heap. In all cases, a distinction is made between the wanted and the unwanted child. The former is given the protection of the law; for the latter, that same law allows the child to be killed, enslaved, or prostituted.

7.5 Childhood

At the age of three infants entered childhood, a period stretching from infancy to the onset of puberty. Throughout these youthful years, the child was prepared for adult life. For many, childhood was fleeting. While the wealthy males could spend several more years in playful adolescence, girls were rushed into early marriage, and the poor

⁹² Jeffers, "Jewish and Christian Families," 141.

into a lifetime of labour. Most children in antiquity, therefore, had little opportunity to be children.

As in their infancy, Romans spent much of their childhood with surrogate parents. Children only grew closer to their parents the nearer they approached adulthood. The wet nurse who suckled the upper-class infant girl could continue her nurturing role and become *educatrix* or *paedagoga* to the child.⁹³ Upper-class, and some lower-class,⁹⁴ boys would be taken under the wing of a *paedagogus*. It was expected that the *paedagogus*, though a slave, would have great moral influence on the child, and so would have to be chosen with care.⁹⁵ The nurse or *paedagogus* was expected to socialize the child, to teach her or him to be well-mannered and polite, to provide moral discipline, and to introduce him or her to culture, including the myths and legends of the gods.⁹⁶ Nurses were charged particularly with teaching girls about the private world (running the household), and the *paedagogus* with teaching boys about the public world.⁹⁷ Upper-class children also may have forged strong bonds with another type of surrogate parent: the guardian. This figure's role was to guard the minor child's fortune. With over one-third of children having lost their fathers before the age of twenty-five, guardianship was relatively

⁹³ Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 20. See also Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 144–45; Dixon, *The Roman Mother*, 149–55.

⁹⁴ Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 62.

⁹⁵ Rawson, "The Roman Family," 39; Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 53; H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (trans. George Lamb; New York: Sheed & Ward, 1956), 143–44. De Mause ("The Evolution of Childhood," 43–45) accuses some pedagogues of sexually abusing their charges. For further evidence of freeborn and upper-class incest and pederasty see Evans, *War, Women and Children*, 170.

⁹⁶ Marrou, *A History of Education*, 142. The entire family could join in the socialization of the child during festivals, at the theatre, and on other social occasions (see Rawson, "Adult-Child Relationships" 17–19).

⁹⁷ Upper-class girls also could be assigned male nurses who would introduce them to the public world (Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 61).

common.⁹⁸ Though these caregivers—the nurse, the *paedagogus*, the guardian—may seem inadequate parents by today's standards, they provided the young upper-class child with a stability sorely needed given the chaos of the Roman household.⁹⁹ As parents, step-parents, and step-siblings came and went, the surrogate parent may have been the child's only constant companion.¹⁰⁰

Before formal education began, the child's years were marked primarily by play.¹⁰¹ Much of the play, however, even at this young age, was intended as preparation for adult life. A girl's dolls were not infants but young women of marriageable age, illustrating again that upper-class women were not expected to be child minders.¹⁰² Boys played games of status differentiation, with one of them appointed leader or winner and another picked as loser. Games of later childhood, such as chariot racing and gladiatorial contests, show further efforts of the young to imitate adult life.

The early instruction of children receives particular emphasis in Judaism.¹⁰³ Twice daily the Jewish father was reminded of his duty to teach his children when he recited the *Shema* (Deut 6:4-7).¹⁰⁴ According to Philo, this began in infancy with the acknowledgment of the one God (*Spec. Laws* 115). Josephus essentially agrees, writing

⁹⁸ Saller, *Patriarchy*, 181–203. Mothers could also function as guardians (Dixon, *The Roman Mother*, 63–64) though this practice invites controversy in the sources.

⁹⁹ Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 57.

¹⁰⁰ The importance of surrogate parents to their charges is reflected in the flexible use of the affectionate terms *mammae* and *tattae* (mummy and daddy) which are applied by adult children in commemorations to various types of caregivers, as well as to parents and grandparents. See further Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 76–102; Dixon, *The Roman Mother*, 146–49.

¹⁰¹ See the discussions of play in Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 146–53; and Rawson, "Adult-Child Relationships," 19–20.

¹⁰² Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 149.

¹⁰³ A detailed overview of education in Judaism can be found in Safrai and Stern, *The Jewish People*, 2:945–70.

¹⁰⁴ Yarbrough, "Parents and Children," 48; Safrai and Stern, *The Jewish People*, 2:947.

that Jewish children learn the Law as soon as they are able to understand anything (*Ag. Ap.* 2.18).¹⁰⁵ Such instruction was passed on typically from father to son and,¹⁰⁶ judging from 4 Maccabees (18:10–19; see also Tob 4:5–19), would include “the law and the prophets,” as well as the Psalms, Proverbs and tales of legendary Jewish figures. The setting was the home and the synagogue, particularly during festival times.¹⁰⁷ Presumably, enslaved Jews would have as much ability to teach their children the Law as interaction with their children allowed. The survival of Judaism in the Diaspora is testament to the ability of Jewish families to pass on these traditions.¹⁰⁸

Children of the lower-classes would not have had as much opportunity to enjoy play as the upper-class children. Instead, they entered early the field of work in which they would spend their lives. Some were at work by the age of five and became experts in their craft by twelve.¹⁰⁹ Typically this meant waking up to a long day's labour that began at sunrise and ended at sunset.¹¹⁰ Other children's lives, however, were worse still. They were forced into prostitution by their poor parents, or rescued from exposure only to be intentionally disfigured as a way to enhance their appeal as beggars, or they became *deliciae*, the handsome little boys whose job was to cater to the sexual whims of their slaveowners.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵ Yarbrough, “Parents and Children,” 44.

¹⁰⁶ There are indications that a mother or grandmother could also provide instruction (Tob 1:8), and that a daughter would be taught “according to the law of Moses” (*Sus* 3; see also the debate over teaching a daughter in *m. Sotah* 3.4). See further the discussions in Yarbrough, “Parents and Children,” 42; Moore, *Judaism*, 128–29; and Safrai and Stern, *The Jewish People*, 955.

¹⁰⁷ Yarbrough, “Parents and Children,” 42.

¹⁰⁸ Yarbrough, “Parents and Children,” 49. The continuation of Jewish traditions is so important to Philo that he advocates the execution of apostate sons (*Spec. Leg.* 1.54–56).

¹⁰⁹ Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 115.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ Evans, *War, Women and Children*, 141, 168–69; Dixon, *The Roman Mother*, 112.

Young children also had religious functions.¹¹² The fragility of children, particularly in birth and infancy, made necessary the creation of numerous deities to protect both the young and their mothers.¹¹³ Children were considered also to be in closer contact to the spiritual world than adults as they have only recently entered the earthly world. This liminality, coupled with their marginality in adult male society, made children prime objects of religious power. Their words, behaviour, and antics at play could be interpreted as prophetic or portentous; their body parts could be used for magic. Even their presence was considered auspicious: misshapen births were taken as omens, children had important roles at religious functions, a deceased newborn could be buried beneath the home,¹¹⁴ and a child's ghost could be invoked against an enemy. The spiritual powers attributed to children illustrate how they were regarded by the adult males who held true power in ancient society; that is, children's sexual and intellectual purity rendered them nonhuman, and though therefore special, they could become merely objects to be read or used.

¹¹² See the discussions in Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 176–86; Néraudeau, *Être enfant*, 229–42; for Christianity see Currie, “Childhood and Christianity,” 193–201.

¹¹³ Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 176. Augustine (*Civ.* 7,2) scoffs at the number of deities assigned to the protection of the infant.

¹¹⁴ For further discussion of infant burial practices see Garnsey, “Child Rearing,” 52–53.



Fig. 7.3: A school scene from Herculaneum shows the beating of a pupil by his teacher. Reproduced from Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, pl. 4.

At the age of seven most children, Jewish and non-Jewish, began primary school.¹¹⁵ The interplay between an upper-class child's home and school life can be seen, albeit through an adult's eyes, in the pages of a Roman school-book:

I go out of my bedroom with my tutor [*paedagogus*] and my nurse to greet my father and my mother. I greet them both and kiss them both. I go find my writing kit and my exercise book and give them to my slave. Then everything is ready. Followed by my tutor, I go out of the house and set off to school. I make my way through the portico which leads to school. My school fellows come to meet me. I greet them and they greet me back. I come to the staircase. I go up the stairs quietly. I raise the curtain and greet the assistant teachers. I greet the master and he kisses me.¹¹⁶

All levels of society could be represented in the schoolhouse: upper and lower classes, boys and girls.¹¹⁷ The wealthiest families, however, would educate their children at home with a parent or *paedagogus* serving as instructor,¹¹⁸ some particularly large households

¹¹⁵ On Greco-Roman education see Marrou's classic *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 95–313 (especially 229–313); also, the overviews in Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 164–70; and Osiek and Balch, *Families in the New Testament World*, 68–74. For the age of entry into Jewish primary schools see D. Kraemer, "Images of Childhood," 69.

¹¹⁶ From Keith Hopkins, "Everyday Life for the Roman Schoolboy," *History Today* 43 (1993): 26.

¹¹⁷ Rawson, "Adult-Child Relationships," 20.

¹¹⁸ Marrou, *A History of Education*, 266.

had their own schools (*paedagogium*) for the rudimentary education of slave children.¹¹⁹ Neither schools nor their teachers were held in much regard in antiquity; classrooms were noisy and crowded, teachers were untrained, poorly paid and of low status.¹²⁰ The classroom often was remembered in adulthood also as the scene of brutality and sexual abuse. Indeed, the words used for education, *disciplina* or the Hebrew *músar*, can also be translated as "punishment."¹²¹ References to beatings by schoolteachers in classical and antique literature are numerous;¹²² some writers give voice to their childhood fears of the teacher in their stories of children returning the abuse.¹²³ Anecdotes of sexual abuse are less common but no less compelling.¹²⁴ By the end of the first century there was some relaxation of brutal teaching practices. Instead of beatings, rewards were offered as incentives to learn; however, this practice was criticized by the severer moralists of the old school.¹²⁵ Primary school studies appear to have been of low quality. With no state

¹¹⁹ Ibid. The education of slaves was typically limited to the skills they would need for their tasks, though this could include discussing literature with their owners.

¹²⁰ Ibid, 145–46 and 267; Rawson, "The Roman Family," 39.

¹²¹ Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 28; Marrou, *A History of Education*, 159.

¹²² References to beating by schoolteachers in classical and antique literature are legion. For primary sources see Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 28–29; and Evans, *War, Women and Children*, 169–70. Evans (ibid, 201 n. 22) notes also a graffito from Pompeii that makes it clear that students who neglected their lessons could expect a flogging (*CIL* 4.4208).

¹²³ Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 29, 179. An ancient fable relates the story of a fifth-century B.C.E. schoolteacher of Falerii who, during a siege of his city by the Romans, kidnapped his pupils and surrendered them to the enemy. To his alarm, the Romans handed the schoolteacher over to the same children to be beaten to death (Livy 5.27.9). In a similar story, Cassian of Imola, a third-century C.E. Christian schoolteacher, was said to have been handed over to his own non-Christian pupils for execution; they killed him with their styluses (Prudentius, *Perist.* 9 [PL 60:432]).

¹²⁴ Marrou, *A History of Education*, 268; Evans, *War, Women and Children*, 169–70. Evans lists evidence from Juvenal, Suetonius, and graffiti from Herculaneum (where the terms *fellator* and *cinaedus* appear on walls in three different places). Wiedemann (*Adults and Children*, 30–31) quickly dismisses accusations of pederasty against the Romans. His position is countered by Eyben (*Restless Youth*, 241–46).

¹²⁵ Marrou, *A History of Education*, 272–73.

support or regulation, the schools followed no standard curriculum and accomplished little more than teaching the child to read, write, count, and perform simple arithmetic.¹²⁶ At twelve most children's schooling was over. Only children of wealthy households, few of them girls, continued on into secondary and higher education.

Primary education in the Jewish homeland was different in many respects from Roman schooling. Education was considered vital for the continuation of Jewish culture. Therefore, it received state sponsorship, with schools run in every town in the first century.¹²⁷ Boys, both rich and poor, could attend, but girls could not. The teacher too was held in much higher regard,¹²⁸ though teaching methods, including harsh discipline, were much the same as elsewhere.¹²⁹ The skills taught in the Roman classroom, reading and writing, were no different in Jewish primary education, but great emphasis was placed on reciting scripture and learning about Jewish culture.¹³⁰

Along with education, Roman and Jewish fathers were obliged to discipline their children. It is in this regard that young children seemed to have had most of their contact with parents. Proverbial references to mothers are not as nurturers but as disciplinarians.¹³¹ As for fathers, Roman and Jewish law gave them the power to take their children's lives.¹³² However, in the Roman fathers' case, Saller has been vocal in

¹²⁶ Ibid, 147–58.

¹²⁷ Safrai and Stern, *The Jewish People*, 2:946.

¹²⁸ Ibid, 2:957; Moore, *Judaism*, 1:317.

¹²⁹ Safrai and Stern, *The Jewish People*, 2:954. Movements to curb harsh discipline are discussed p. 955.

¹³⁰ See ibid, 2:950–52 and Moore, *Judaism*, 1:318 on the classroom content.

¹³¹ Dixon, *The Roman Mother*, 131.

¹³² In Judaism, Deut 21:18–21 recommends capital punishment for the failure of disobeying parents, an injunction which Philo (*Spec. Laws* 2.247–48) still found acceptable in his day. For other biblical references to discipline see the discussion in Yarbrough, "Parents and Children," 45–46. On Philo, see Reinhartz, "Parents and Children," 74–77.

showing that such actions were rare.¹³³ Fathers who acted cruelly to their children were condemned and paternal moderation was praised as a virtue.¹³⁴ Filial relations in the late Republic household, Saller writes, were governed more by *pietas*, mutual affection and devotion: "fathers were morally bound by *pietas* to care for the interests of their children, as much as children were bound to respect and to obey their parents, mothers as well as fathers."¹³⁵ Children also were not disciplined by their fathers as harshly as the household slaves.¹³⁶ The whip was slaves' constant reminder of their inferior status. It would not do for a freeborn to be placed in such a submissive position.¹³⁷ Corporal punishment was used mostly for the young child, though writers of the time advised restraint in this practice; older children would be reprimanded.¹³⁸ In all cases, a child's behaviour was seen as a reflection on the household. The parents' honour rested on their ability to control their children.¹³⁹

The sources for the family in antiquity depict the parent-child relationship as cold, distant, and pragmatic. This depiction, however, is inevitable given that the majority of the evidence is derived from texts which show little interest in everyday life. For a window into more intimate interactions between parents and their children we must look

¹³³ Saller, *Patriarchy*, 102–132 and idem, "Corporal Punishment, Authority, and Obedience in the Roman Household" in Rawson, *Marriage, Divorce, and Children*, 144–65. The same position is taken up by Emiel Eyben in his copiously noted essay "Fathers and Sons" (in Rawson, *Marriage, Divorce, and Children*, 114–43).

¹³⁴ Saller, *Patriarchy*, 120. Some fathers, however, were criticized for being too accommodating with their children (see Eyben, *Restless Youth*, 207).

¹³⁵ Saller, *Patriarchy*, 227.

¹³⁶ Female slaves could be both physically and sexually abused (ibid, 152).

¹³⁷ Ibid, 143.

¹³⁸ Ibid, 147.

¹³⁹ Eyben, *Restless Youth*, 203. A lack of respect for elders was considered by some a hallmark of youth. Pliny (*Ep.* 8.23) praises Junius Avitus for being an exception to this stereotype. A second-/third-century letter from the child Theon (*P. Oxy.* 1.119), in which

to ancient letters and funerary inscriptions. Cicero writes often in his letters of his children and grandchildren, and takes pleasure in their activities.¹⁴⁰ He sympathizes with his nephew, Quintus junior, on his parents' divorce (*Att.* 6.3.8) and includes various affectionate greetings to children—for example: "Please give Attica a kiss from me for being such a merry little thing. It is what one likes to see in children" (*Att.* 16.11.8 [Bailey, LCL]). Cicero's speeches to juries also refer to the particular love fathers bore their daughters (e.g. *Verr.* 2.1.112; *Mur.* 23).¹⁴¹ Fronto's correspondence with his student Marcus Aurelius reveals the writer's sympathy in the face of child illness and death, and his delight in watching the behaviour of his grandchildren (*Amic.*, 1.12).¹⁴² Several other figures are said to have spent considerable time with their children: Cato Censor regularly attended his infant son's bath unless public duty called him away (Plutarch, *Cat. Maj.* 20.4); Aulus Gellius placed attending to his children's education above his studies (*Noct. att. Praef.* 23; see also Symmachus, *Ep.* 13.20);¹⁴³ and Augustus and Livia greatly mourned the death, in childhood, of one particularly endearing grandson (Suetonius, *Gai.* 7).¹⁴⁴ Children appear also in fiction and poetry. Dixon cites several literary allusions to small children which celebrate the typical characteristics of a child (Lucretius 3.895–96; Catullus, *Epith.*, 61.209–13; Martial 5.34:7–8).¹⁴⁵ Another source for affective descriptions of children is tombstones. Typically the dead were remembered using stock

he expresses anger at his father for not taking him along on a trip to Alexandria, shows that spoiled children were just as common in the past as they are today.

¹⁴⁰ See the discussion in Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 84–89.

¹⁴¹ Mentioned in Dixon, *The Roman Mother*, 28.

¹⁴² See Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 96–97.

¹⁴³ Mentioned in Dixon, *The Roman Mother*, 27.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 112.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* See also Mark Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens* (Baltimore, Md.: John Hopkins University Press, 1990), 8–9.

phrases. Commemorations such as that of the infant Anteïs Chrysostom (*CIL* 4.34421),¹⁴⁶

however, break from the stereotypes:

Her most unhappy parents, Faenomenus and Helpis, set up the dedication to Anteïs Chrysostom—sweet prattler and chatterbox—who lived three years, five months and three days, our dearly beloved, well behaved daughter, with her piping voice. Porcius Maximus and Porcia Charita and Porcia Helias and Sardonyx and Menophilus who tended her to the day of her death also commemorate her.

The very existence of funerary inscriptions for young children, though not representative of the number of the deceased, show that their parents thought enough of them to pay for a tombstone and to publicly mourn their loss.¹⁴⁷

Jewish sources also tell of parental love and the pleasure of children (see particularly 4 Macc 15:4 and Sir 25:7).¹⁴⁸ Philo writes that a parent's love and affection are innate and requires no statement of law (*Spec. Laws* 2.240).¹⁴⁹ And, a second-century rabbinic tradition recounts a tale of a rabbi who, when observed crawling on his hands and feet following his son, explained his behavior by saying: "You see that when a man loves to have children, he acts like a fool" (*Midrash Ps.* 92, 14.206b §13).¹⁵⁰ Though references to the joys of children in the various sources are few, their paucity should not be taken as proof that the ancients did not care about their offspring or that they viewed them merely as an investment in their own future. While it is too presumptuous to think that the parent-child relationship is always an affective one—in antiquity or today—this aspect of parent-child dynamics may be something that can be taken for granted.

¹⁴⁶ Cited in Dixon, *The Roman Mother*, 24–25.

¹⁴⁷ Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 42; Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 139–40.

¹⁴⁸ Yarbrough, "Parents and Children," 46; Gundry-Volf, "The Least and the Greatest," 34.

¹⁴⁹ See further Reinhartz, "Parents and Children," 81–85.

¹⁵⁰ Cited in Gundry-Volf, "The Least and the Greatest," 34–35.

Unfortunately, the full nature of parental love and affection in this period is something that cannot be determined from the sources.

These anecdotes of parental affection do not change the characterization of the parent-child relationship as distanced. Even the most involved parents seem to have viewed their children's behaviour only from afar. When financially viable, the raising of children, like the care of infants, was a task for servants. And the objective of childcare—through directing play, activities, and education—was to bring children into adulthood the sooner, it seems, the better.

7.6 Adolescence and Adulthood.

Upon the completion of primary education an individual is virtually an adult in Roman and Jewish society. But adolescence, as a stage of development beginning at the onset of puberty to the age at which a person takes on the full responsibilities of an adult, was a luxury enjoyed only by wealthy males. Girls and all members of the lower classes entered early into the adult worlds of childbearing, servitude, and work. Yet, even as adults, they would always be the children of their parents, with all the obligations that that relationship entailed.

Roman boys became full citizens in the political sense at the age of 15 or 16. At this time they exchanged the garb of boyhood (the *bullā* and *toga praetexta*) for that of manhood (the *toga virilis*). Now able to enter into the adult world, sons were allowed greater contact with their fathers. But the relationship could have been strained, as fathers

would subject their sons to stern discipline in preparation for the ordeals to come.¹⁵¹ Boys still had much to learn about being men, so full adult responsibility, including complete financial autonomy, a major political position, and marriage, would wait until they were closer to the age of 25.¹⁵² This between-state of adult, yet not quite adult, was potentially a time of crisis for young men, precisely the kind of crisis that typifies adolescence.¹⁵³ The picture for young men was much the same in Judaism.¹⁵⁴ The rabbis determined that a child's legal responsibility began at puberty; but marriage for a male was not expected until the age of 30, and even at 20 a young man was considered naive, rebellious, and not "full-bearded." One additional avenue was open to both Jewish and non-Jewish men anxious to delay full adult responsibility. If gifted, they could have been chosen to continue their education, this time at the feet of teachers and philosophers.¹⁵⁵

Upper-class girls could neither continue in education nor delay marriage. They could never acquire political power, and rarely controlled their own finances.¹⁵⁶ But, as wives and mothers, they took on great adult responsibility at a much younger age than their male peers. Even at 12 years of age, a young girl, Jewish and non-Jewish, was expected to bear children and run a household.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵¹ Osiek and Balch, *Families in the New Testament World*, 43.

¹⁵² Marc Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth: The Ambiguity of Youth and the Absence of Adolescence in Greco-Roman Society* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1991), 72. Laws were instituted to delay a young man's entry into politics because adults feared the rashness of youth (Eyben, *Restless Youth*, 27)

¹⁵³ Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth*, 51; Rawson, "Adult-Child Relationships," 28.

¹⁵⁴ See D. Kraemer, "Images of Childhood," 71–76.

¹⁵⁵ Marrou, *A History of Education*, 160–216; Safrai and Stern, *The Jewish People*, 2:953; Moore, *Judaism*, 1:319.

¹⁵⁶ See Rawson, "Adult-Child Relationships," 28 on restrictions on women's financial autonomy.

¹⁵⁷ On a young girl's training for adulthood see Moore, *Judaism*, 2:128; Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 108; Dixon, *The Roman Mother*, 120.

Children of the lower-classes—boys and girls—went directly from primary school to the labour force. This urgency was due to poor families' need to supplement their income. In the case of slaves, it was due to their masters' eagerness to realize the return on their investment.¹⁵⁸ Children who did not attend primary school would have entered the workplace even earlier, particularly in agricultural environments where simple tasks could be undertaken by the very young.¹⁵⁹ It was expected that children would follow in the family trade, inheriting the tools, techniques, customers and reputation of their parents.¹⁶⁰ If they wished, parents could choose for their children another trade, in which case they were apprenticed to someone outside the family. The work was long and hard but working children were certainly better off than children who were beggars and prostitutes.¹⁶¹ Some apprenticed children also formed affective bonds with their masters thereby easing their entry into the adult world.¹⁶² The circumstances were again similar in Jewish families where, upon completion of primary education, fathers were religiously obligated to teach their sons a trade.¹⁶³ In slave conditions, however, the trade and the age at which apprenticeship began were determined by the needs of the slaveowner.

¹⁵⁸ Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 116–17.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 114.

¹⁶⁰ Rawson, "The Roman Family," 40; Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 109. Some children were given names at birth in anticipation of the job they would perform as adults (Sarah B. Pomeroy, "Some Greek Families: Production and Reproduction," in Cohen, *The Jewish Family in Antiquity*, 163).

¹⁶¹ Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*, 112.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 116.

¹⁶³ Moore, *Judaism*, 2:127–28; Safrai and Stern, *The Jewish People*, 2:958.

The nearer children came to the age of adulthood, the more their parents took an active interest in their lives.¹⁶⁴ Nurses and *paedagogi* were cast aside as parents now took on the role of parenting. It is at this point also that children in Mediterranean families had to begin fulfilling their obligations to their parents. A mother's obligation was to ensure her daughters were adequately educated and to find them husbands.¹⁶⁵ But even after their daughters had left to begin their own families, mothers continued to assist their daughters, particularly during childbirth and emergencies.¹⁶⁶ Throughout their lives, daughters were expected to follow their mothers' wishes, and to continue the parent-child relationship by providing their mothers with support and companionship.¹⁶⁷ Yet for all their contact with their daughters, Roman mothers forged stronger bonds with their sons.¹⁶⁸ Girls were a constant worry for mothers who had to guard their daughters' chastity¹⁶⁹ and girls also left home just as the parent-child relationship was beginning; boys, however, remained at home longer and represented the family's hopes for the future. Some mothers were deeply involved in overseeing their sons' education and careers.¹⁷⁰ In return, sons were expected to respect their mothers, defer to their wishes, and visit them regularly, even if separated by divorce and remarriage.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁴ A child who dies at this age is mourned most often in epitaphs (Dixon, *The Roman Family*, 115).

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, 215.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, 217–20.

¹⁶⁷ Dixon, *The Roman Mother*, 222.

¹⁶⁸ For an overview of mother-son relations throughout Mediterranean cultures see Osiek and Balch, *Families in the New Testament World*, 42–43.

¹⁶⁹ R. Kraemer, "Jewish Mothers and Daughters," 105; Osiek and Balch, *Families in the New Testament World*, 39.

¹⁷⁰ Dixon, *The Roman Mother*, 171–76.

¹⁷¹ Ibid, 176.

The greatest obligation of children to their parents was to provide them with support in their old age.¹⁷² This duty is expressed in the literature as a debt owed to parents by their children for being reared.¹⁷³ Often it is offered to couples as an incentive to have children. In a society without social programs for the infirm, people dreaded old age. The poor had to ensure their needs would be met when they could no longer work. Without children, they would have to rely on a spouse to tend to them, or resort to begging.¹⁷⁴ The wealthy, however, worried only about care, companionship, and burial. The importance of this obligation looms large in the sources. Epitaphs commonly mourn the loss of support entailed by a child who predeceases his or her parents and lament those who died childless.¹⁷⁵ Conversely, epitaphs to parents written by their adult children congratulate themselves for fulfilling their obligation.¹⁷⁶

The need for support in old age accounts for much of the childrearing views and methods observed in the sources: it is given as a major reason to bear children, accounts for the physical and emotional distance between parent and child in the pre-adult years, as well as the rush to put children to work and the youth at which girls become mothers. The wholly-pragmatic obligations of parents and children are mandated in Mediterranean culture, and while love, as Philo writes, needs no statement of law, it seems to have had little bearing on parent-child relationships. This pattern of behaviour was passed from

¹⁷² See particularly Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 39–42; and Tim Parkin, “Out of Sight, Out of Mind: Elderly Members of the Roman Family,” in Rawson and Weaver, *The Roman Family in Italy*, 123–48. For Judaism, see Yarbrough, “Parents and Children,” 49–56; and Reinhartz, “Parents and Children,” 72–73.

¹⁷³ Parkin, “Out of Sight,” 124; Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 39.

¹⁷⁴ Parkin, “Out of Sight,” 136 and 138 n. 54.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, 125; R. Kraemer, “Jewish Mothers,” 96; Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 40. Note particularly *CIL* 6.18086 where the deceased two-year-old Flavius Hermes is reproached for failing to live up to his claim that he would be his grandmother’s support in old age.

one generation to the next and would continue until the social institutions of the Roman world met with significant change. And change was in the air.

7.7 The Child in Christian Families.

In her article on children in medieval Christianity Gillian Clark asks, "what difference did Christianity make?" By the time the Empire became Christian, much had changed for the valuation of children, but little of this change can be attributed to a perceived higher standard in morality among Christians. As recent writers on Jewish and Christian families have noted, there is little that separates early Christian family structures in the Greco-Roman world from those of their non-Christian neighbours.¹⁷⁷ This is especially true of the time of IGT's composition, when Christianity was still struggling to assert itself. Nevertheless, there are reasons to believe that Christian family life was, at times, significantly different from the norm, not because Christianity brought morality to the Roman family, but because it brought disruption and discord.

Early Christians inherited a legacy of counter-cultural statements about the family. The NT gospels record occasions where Jesus denies his own filial ties (Mark 3:31–35 par; Luke 11:27–28),¹⁷⁸ shows disrespect to his mother (John 7:4), tells would-be disciples to separate from their families (Mark 10:29–30 par; Matt 10:37; Luke 14:26)

¹⁷⁶ Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 40.

¹⁷⁷ See Jeffers, "Jewish and Christian Families," 129; Currie, "Childhood and Christianity," 192; and in a more narrow context see Peter Garnsey, "Sons, Slaves—and Christians," in Rawson and Weaver, *The Roman Family in Italy*, 120; and Michel Desjardins, "Reconstructing Valentinian Families," *Religionswissenschaft in Konsequenz: Beiträge im Anschluss an Impulse von Kurt Rudolph* (eds. Rainer Flasche, Fritz Heinrich, and Carsten Koch; Münster/Hamburg: LIT, 2001), 115–26.

¹⁷⁸ Though, at the same time, Jesus upholds the fourth commandment (Mark 7:10–13 par).

and to not bury their dead (Matt 8:21–22; Luke 9:59–60), and announces he has come to bring division to the household (Matt 10:34–36; Luke 12:51–53).¹⁷⁹ Furthermore, both Jesus and Paul advocate the ascetic lifestyle (Matt 19:12; Mark 12:19 par; 1 Cor 7:7–8, 26–27). But, along with these writings, Christians also had texts advocating the stability of the household (1 Pet; the Deuteropaulines; *1 Clem.* 21:6–8). The perspective of these texts likely touched Christians the most, for, aside from staunchly-ascetic groups such as the Marcionites, the majority of Christians had homelives that were not unlike their non-Christian neighbours, so much that Aristides can characterize his fellow Christians in terms that would be familiar to his non-Christian audience: they honour father and mother, their women are pure, their daughters are modest, they continue to hold slaves, and they practice hospitality (*Apol.* 15). Average second-century Christians continued to live in readiness for the kingdom, but they did so within the structures of the present world.

Nevertheless, early critics of the “new superstition” of Christianity saw in it an instrument of society’s destruction. Entire families of Christians stopped, or were said to have stopped, attending cultural and religious gatherings;¹⁸⁰ they no longer worshipped the traditional Roman deities; some refused to have children.¹⁸¹ Such behaviour led to the charge of hatred of humanity, or more generally, *impietas*, for in turning away from the

¹⁷⁹ Early Christian statements such as these on the family may reflect the conflicts which occurred when a non-Christian family member adopted Christian beliefs.

¹⁸⁰ Tertullian says Christians did not frequent games, the circus, theatre, or gymnasium (*Apol.* 38.4–5). If that were truly so, he would have had no need to write *De spectaculis* to tell Christians to cease these practices.

¹⁸¹ Celibate Christian groups, such as the Marcionites or Encratites, have little bearing on this discussion as they would have had no children to raise. But the existence of such groups, as well as individual Christians who chose celibacy as an expression of heroic piety, would add to the Empire’s distrust of the movement. As Coyle writes, “any who

gods of the empire, they showed little regard for the areas over which these deities watched.¹⁸² Such behaviour also demonstrated disloyalty to family traditions.¹⁸³ Christian disdain for the boundaries of age, gender, and status drew further suspicion.¹⁸⁴ Other aspects of their behaviour—Jewish monotheism and the refusal to abort or expose unwanted newborns—just seemed odd.¹⁸⁵

The majority of the invective against Christians, however, was reserved for those who would bring conflict into the household. The disruption that occurred upon individual conversion of those under the authority of a non-Christian *pater familias*—wives, slaves, even young adult sons—became the focus of much anti-Christian writing.¹⁸⁶ With the entire household, including children and slaves, expected to perform daily, monthly, and other regular sacrifices to the family deities, a Christian family member's refusal to participate threatened the unity of the household.¹⁸⁷ Celibate Christian wives posed a particular problem as early as New Testament times (1 Cor 7:13–

advocated celibacy at the time the empire was trying to add to its numbers would not be regarded well" ("Empire and Eschaton," 41).

¹⁸² Ibid, 37.

¹⁸³ John M. G. Barclay, "The Family as the Bearer of Religion in Judaism and Early Christianity," in Moxnes, *Constructing Early Christian Families*, 73.

¹⁸⁴ Osiek, "The Family in Early Christianity," 16.

¹⁸⁵ For Christian rejections of exposure see *Did.* 2.2; 5.2; *Barn.* 19.5; 20.1–2; (*Eth.*) *Apoc. Pet.* 8; Justin, *I Apol.* 1.27; *Diogn.* 5.6; Minucius Felix, *Oct.* 30.2. Currie ("Childhood and Christianity," 25) attributes this position to an unwillingness to interfere in God's role as *pater familias* rather than a championing of the rights of the newly born. Several of the Christian writers caution against exposure strictly because those who visit brothels could inadvertently commit incest.

¹⁸⁶ H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church: A Study of Conflict from the Maccabees to Donatus* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1965), 258. The same concern is raised by Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.5) about Jewish proselytism.

¹⁸⁷ Plutarch (*Conj. praec.* 19) counsels that at marriage a bride should cease to worship any other gods than those of her husband so that there will be unity and conformity in worship. To avoid such conflict, Tertullian tried to convince North African Christian women to marry Christians (*Ux.* 2.4, 6). For a recent discussion of the issue see M. MacDonald, *Early Christian Women*, 183–248.

16 and 1 Pet 3:1–6; and later in the Apocryphal Acts). Not only did they withhold worship to non-Christian deities, they threatened the family's future by refusing to bear children. Slaves were expected to persevere in their Christian behaviour, even if it invited punishment (1 Pet 2:18–25; Hippolytus, *Trad. ap.* 15; Clem. Al., *Strom.* 4.8.67–68; Tertullian, *Nat.* 1.4.12–13; Arnobius, *Adv. nat.* 2, 5; *Didasc.* 1.10.1).¹⁸⁸ Adult children could disrupt parent-child relations by refusing to marry non-Christians¹⁸⁹ and by failing to fulfill their obligation to support their parents by either removing themselves from non-Christian households¹⁹⁰ or by embracing martyrdom. According to Celsus, Christians encouraged young children to disrupt the home:

But whenever [Christian propagandists] get hold of children in private, and some stupid women with them, they let out some astounding statements as, for example, that they must not pay any attention to their father and school-teachers, but must obey them [...]. But they alone, they say, know the right way to live, and if the children would believe them, they would become happy and make their home happy as well. And if just as they are speaking they see one of the school-teachers coming, or some intelligent person, or even the father himself, the more cautious of them flee in all directions; but the more reckless urge the children on to rebel (Origen, *Cels.* 3.55, Chadwick).¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ See Coyle, "Empire and Eschaton," 53. Jennifer A. Glancy ("Obstacles to Slaves' participation in the Corinthian Church," *JBL* 117.3 [1988]: 481–501) notes that slaves would have had particular problems participating in Christian life because they were required by their masters to provide for their sexual needs. The mixing of slaves with freeborns and freedpersons in house churches could also cause problems with their non-Christian slaveowners. Though lower-status household members like women and slaves could face problems as Christians in a non-Christian home, they also could use their influence to bring in new members to the Church. Libanius, a late fourth-century Antiochene orator, reports that those of high status like himself who became Christians learned the tenets of the faith from women of the family or from the domestic slaves (*Or.* 16.47).

¹⁸⁹ Coyle, "Empire and Eschaton," 53.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 54. *Ps.-Clem.* (11.19:3–20:1), Eusebius (*Mart. Pal.* 4:5), and Cyprian's biographer Pontius (*Vit. Cypr.* 11) advocate leaving the home if one's parents are not Christian.

¹⁹¹ See further Barclay, "The Family as the Bearer of Religion," 73–74.

Celsus appeals here to parental fears of an insubordination that could have devastating results for the future of the household.

Despite the motivation for celibacy, Christians continued to rear children. These children would lead lives in some ways very different from their peers.¹⁹² Within the household, the Christian aversion to divorce, as well as adultery, may have led to more stability.¹⁹³ But the structure of the household would be otherwise unremarkable; the roles of husbands, wives, children, and slaves (if present) remained the same. However, depending on the political and social climate, the entire family could face ostracism, persecution, or even martyrdom for their beliefs.¹⁹⁴ Children may have been expected to practice a certain amount of subterfuge in more dangerous times, even while among their schoolmates, for there were no Christian-run schools at the time. Specifically-Christian education took place in the home (Col 3:20; Eph 6:1–2; *1 Clem.* 21.8; 21.6; *Did.* 4.9;

¹⁹² It must be cautioned that a Christian's involvement in Christian and non-Christian religious practices could have varied considerably from person to person. Harold Remus ("'Unknown and Yet Well-known.' The Multifform Formation of Early Christianity," in *A Multifform Heritage: Studies on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Robert A. Kraft* [ed. Benjamin G. Wright; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999], 89–90) suggests that fertility-challenged Christian women, for example, may have prayed to God in addition to their former household deities for assistance. Such a situation questions both the rigidity of religious boundaries and the conviction of those in the household forced to embrace Christianity by a Christian *pater familias*.

¹⁹³ Injunctions against divorce in the NT (Mark 10:1–12 par; 1 Cor 7:10–11) continue into the second century with Tertullian (*Apol.* 6.1–10).

¹⁹⁴ Major persecutions against Christians were initiated under Nero (64), Domitian (93–96), Decius (250), Valerian (257–60), and Diocletian (303–13), though individual executions could take place at any time (as under Trajan; see Pliny, *Ep.* 10, 96–97). Children had parts to play in these events. Eusebius, reporting martyrdoms in Gaul under the emperor Antoninus Pius, mentions "young ones" who died in prison (*Hist. eccl.* 1.33) and, in particular, the torture of fifteen-year-old Ponticus (1.53–54). Cyprian's *De Lapsis*, written after the Decian persecution, praises the young people who endured the oppression (2), and bemoans the children, Christians since infancy, who were brought to sacrifice at the pagan altars with their lapsed parents (9). Consider also the complications that would arise in households where non-Christian slaves were tortured to extract information about their Christian masters (Justin, *1 Apol.* 2.12.4).

Barn. 19:7; Polycarp, *Phil.* 4.2), just as it did for Diaspora Jews. Discipline, either at school or at home, was no less brutal for Christians.¹⁹⁵ The household still worshipped as one, but outside the home participation in festivals and other non-Christian socio-religious events would have been limited.¹⁹⁶ Instead, Christian children participated in Christian worship in local house churches, perhaps with their own home or apartment serving as host. Here they would interact with individuals who referred to them in kinship terms derived from the notion of the church as an extended family; in a culture where family was already extensive, the Christian child's kinship ties were wider still. As they grew older, career mobility may have been denied young Christian men, and apprenticeship relationships, as well as other associations, would have been complicated. When the time came most adult Christians likely fulfilled their obligations to their parents.¹⁹⁷ Therefore, children remained an investment in parents' futures whether they were Christian or not.

Some scholars have made much of Christianity's apparent positive revaluation of children. They credit the transformation to Jesus' promise of salvation to those who "become like children" (Matt 18:3–4; Mark 10:13–16 par) and those who will be spiritually reborn (John 3:3–6).¹⁹⁸ Returning to childhood is not something that the ancients would have readily embraced; in classical thinking, the idea of the old

¹⁹⁵ The *Didache* instructs parents in the discipline of their children: "You will not keep your hand from your son or your daughter, but from their youth you shall teach them the fear of God" (*Did.* 4.9, trans. Homes; see also *Barn.* 19.7). For further discussion see Osiek and Balch, *Families in the New Testament World*, 156–67.

¹⁹⁶ Barclay, "The Family as the Bearer of Religion," 76.

¹⁹⁷ The author of 1 Timothy (5:3–16) needs to tell his audience that the church will not support needy mothers and grandmothers if their sons have the resources to do it themselves; however, this was likely no longer an issue by the late second century.

¹⁹⁸ See, for example, Moxnes, "What is Family," 33–34, and Gundry-Volf, "The Least and the Greatest," 60.

experiencing a second childhood was considered a degeneration.¹⁹⁹ Thus, early patristic writers display a certain amount of anxiety over how to interpret Jesus' promise.²⁰⁰ Origen related the childlike state to sexual innocence (*Comm. Matt.* 13.16) and castrated himself in order to achieve it. John Chrysostom related it to a rejection of worldly pride, living without passions, and showing passivity in the face of oppression (*Hom. Matt.* 62.4). Combating Gnosticism, Clement of Alexandria characterized the Christian "child" as always learning, rather than complete in knowledge (*Paed.*). For each of these writers "becoming like a child" entails a transformation in adult behaviour, not an elevation in the lowly status of and regard for children. These same writers still attack their enemies by attributing to them negative qualities associated with children.²⁰¹ Even the notion of rebirth worked only to devalue carnal birth as one of necessity and ignorance against spiritual birth as one of choice and knowledge.²⁰² Infant baptism, however, could be considered evidence that Christians in later centuries saw children as spiritual equals to adults. In a sense, baptism made Christians of all ages "citizens." But Christianity was not alone in this development; Jews began infant baptism in the third century, and Romans also began at this time to gradually lower the age requirement for citizenship.²⁰³ At most, Christian infant baptism indicates a concern by parents for the spiritual fate of children who could, and often did, die before they could make their own choice to join the faith. Christianity adopted imagery related to childhood to represent salvation,

¹⁹⁹ Currie, "Childhood and Christianity," 16; Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 26–27.

²⁰⁰ Currie, "Childhood and Christianity," 39–42.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 46.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 37. See, for example, Justin, *I Apol.* 61.

²⁰³ Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 191. Wiedemann uses child citizenship as part of a sustained argument for the narrowing of the gap between adults and children. The catalyst for the change, he writes, is the child emperor. For critiques of Wiedemann's

paradise, and even themselves in relation to others, but this practice, in itself, seems not to have had an effect on childrens' lives.

As Christianity grew in power and prestige its household practices became reflected in public policy. Before long, many of the forces that affected children's lives were transformed for the better: *patria potestas* was diminished, and women's powers increased; support was provided to the poor who felt forced to expose their children, and child abandonment ultimately outlawed; other laws were enacted to ensure the proper care and burial of parents, and the state made efforts to curb adultery and divorce. None of these efforts, however, came as a result of Christianity; in fact, legislation in these areas was introduced before Constantine, and was even reversed, though temporarily, when Christians took over administration of the Empire.²⁰⁴ Christianity's rigorous support of traditional household structures, begun in order to prove its loyalty to the state, now put the Church at variance with its less-conservative non-Christian neighbours.²⁰⁵ Instead of bringing positive change in children's lives, Christianity slowed that change down. Of course a late fourth-century Christian child's life was considerably more relaxed than that of his or her second- or third-century counterpart—there was no longer the looming threat of persecution. But, the Church's accession to power merely redressed the imbalance that existed between the lives of its children and the lives of their non-Christian peers.

argument see Eyben, *Restless Youth*, 37–39; and Nathan, *The Family in Late Antiquity*, 134.

²⁰⁴ See the discussions in Coyle, "Empire and Eschaton," 68–79; and Nathan, *The Family in Late Antiquity*, 137–40. Christianity also committed its own crimes against children including the practices of leaving behind one's offspring in order to live as an ascetic, and committing them to a religious life without their consultation. For primary sources see Clark, "The Fathers and the Children," 1–7.

²⁰⁵ Coyle, "Empire and Eschaton," 79.

Returning to Clark's question of Christianity's impact on children's lives, Clark answers her query by concluding that Christianity made no difference.²⁰⁶ But *being* a Christian in pre-Constantinian times made living turbulent if not dangerous. Children would have had to deal with ostracism, alienation, and sometimes persecution on a daily basis, with the really young likely not even fully aware of what separated them from others, nor why. They looked the same—they, too, had a father, a mother, siblings, slaves, or they were slaves; they worshipped, attended school, married, went to work—but they were not the same. Household structures, however, remained as they had always been: adults were adults, children were children, and slaves were slaves.

7.8 A Child's Life in Roman Antiquity: An Assessment.

To describe the conditions of life for a child in the second-/third-century Mediterranean world is an endeavour fraught with methodological quandaries. The sources are less than ideal—they are often incomplete, often difficult to interpret, and always coloured by adults' perceptions—and the very subject is elusive and prey to oversimplification. Furthermore, some aspects of family life, particularly the private moments within the home, cannot be recovered. Nevertheless, scholars of the family are confident in their abilities to describe, however generally, what life was like for children in the Roman household.

²⁰⁶ Clark, "The Fathers and the Children," 27.

The wealthy were born into what now would be considered a chaotic environment. The frequency of divorce and remarriage gave rise to complex family structures. In such a home, entrusting the care of children to nurses and *paedagogi* would have been a blessing, as it provided the young with stable parent figures. Still, one can imagine the confusion a child would have felt knowing that, or even watching as, their caregiver was being physically or sexually abused by the same person who the child was to call "father." Adulthood always loomed close, with play being directed toward training for their future roles. Children too may have been anxious to grow up so that they could enter the world of their parents. Once they did, lower-status caregivers were left behind and adolescents began to model the activities of their fathers and mothers. By the age of 25, young men would be established in careers and likely married; young women would have long since begun to rear children, and likely have watched at least one of their infants die. Only boys could delay full adult responsibility; for girls, the duties and the tragedies of adulthood came early.

Wealthy children shared their homes with the offspring of the household slaves. In their early years, both groups would have nursed and played together, but there was much that separated the two groups. Children of slave status would have had their lives directed by the needs of the slaveowner: they could be taken away from their parents at an early age and sold, or watch as one of their parents was sold; they, like their parents, could be physically and sexually abused or exploited; and their education would entail training for menial household tasks with the sole intention of putting them to work as early as possible. Again, adulthood would be hastened, but primarily so that the slaveowner could enjoy the return on his investment. But as terrible as the slave's life

might have been, it would have paled in comparison to that of the truly poor: the handicapped, the beggars, the prostitutes. Having left little mark in the historical record, these childrens' lives can never be reconstructed.

Somewhere between slave and citizen there stood a variegated "middle" class. Children of these merchants, craftspeople, freedpersons, and former slaves would have enjoyed most of the freedoms of the wealthy, but would have suffered from financial conditions that barely separated them from the poor. Lacking the resources of the wealthy, most parents would have had little choice but to raise their children themselves; slightly more prosperous parents, however, could hire a nurse and/or a *paedagogue*. As with upper status and slave children, training and education would be directed to the roles expected of them in adulthood. For "middle" class children, this would mean apprenticing in the family business or another trade. There were no avenues for these young men to delay adulthood; indeed, there was no option. The need to supplement their families' income required entering the work force at puberty. This financial support continued into adulthood at which time children would provide for the needs of their aged parents. The quality of life for "middle" class children was far superior to that of slave children—only death or abduction could take them from their parents, they were less likely to suffer abuse, and the entire family enjoyed as much freedom of association as the law would allow. In some ways, it was even superior to that of their more wealthy peers—divorce was less common (though some blending of families was an inevitable corollary of high mortality rates), and the discipline of the *pater familias* could be less harsh due to the lack of legal support for the institution among the lower classes.

The Christian writer, or compiler, of IGT likely belonged to this "middle" class group. His knowledge of children's experiences, however, could have been informed also by contact with upper and lower status families. Even so, actual intimate acquaintance with children is not expected of the author, for it is an idealized representation of youth that inspires his work, and that ideal likely cuts across status barriers.

When assessing the lives of children in Roman antiquity it is tempting to focus on the negative aspects. Confronted with the prevalence of exposure, sexual exploitation, and slavery, how can we be expected to suppress our moral outrage? But modern Western society is guilty of many of the same injustices. We too make decisions about whether or not to rear children, and, in rare cases, even murder our own offspring; we often employ caregivers for infants, and send our children to schools where, until only recently, the principal's cane was an everpresent source of fear; we delight when our children display adultlike qualities in their youth; and we expect them to care for us in our old age. The differences between then and now are a matter of degree.

Of all the aspects of childhood in antiquity here surveyed the one that is most characteristic of a child's life is the push toward adulthood. With no guarantee of care in old age it was necessary for one's survival and proper burial to conceive enough children to ensure that at least one male would survive to adulthood. And, since roughly a quarter of the population died by the age of twenty-five, the sooner one's offspring became self-sufficient the better. The survival urge would be less pronounced among the wealthy, but their worries about immortality, about carrying on the family name, produced anxiety enough to hasten their sons on to be their successors. These anxieties influenced how adults in ancient societies viewed children. As the following chapter will illustrate,

parents' desires for their offspring to quickly reach adulthood led to the creation of an idealized representation of praiseworthy children as possessing a maturity that belied their years. For some writers, this fed into portraying the heroes of their narratives as already manifesting, or at least foreshadowing, in childhood the abilities for which they would be known as adults. IGT's Jesus could do no less.

CHAPTER 8

Children as Adults Saw Them

IGT was composed in an era when childhood was a fleeting period in human development. Fifty per cent of the population never even survived to the age of ten; most of those who did began work or marriage at an age that is considered far too young by modern standards. For the most part, parents seem to have held their offspring at a distance until they reached “adulthood.” Their perceptions of childhood, then, are unlikely to reflect accurately the reality of children’s experiences in antiquity. Instead, their representations of children tend toward an ideal that is far closer to adulthood than childhood. The qualities one would expect to see associated with children—playfulness, innocence, impulsiveness, disobedience—are all absent, replaced with those qualities valued in adults—wisdom, maturity, conformity, composure. Such attributes are prevalent in children’s funerary inscriptions and reliefs, and in childhood stories of venerated figures. They are also integral to the characterization of Jesus in IGT.

This final chapter of the dissertation weaves together the threads of the discussions on the origins of IGT and the overview of children’s lives in antiquity. Writers like IGT’s author/compiler were influenced by cultural expectations for children that grew out of perceptions of a child’s place in society. It became convention to portray deceased children as they would have been had they lived to adulthood, and to portray important historic figures as adultlike in childhood. IGT’s Jesus, therefore, is no perennially-wise gnostic Redeemer or god-child, as many scholars on the text maintain,

but an ideal child presented in much the same way as other honoured figures or mourned offspring in antiquity.

8.1 Childhood Remembered.

In a culture where many children were relegated to the care of slaves or rushed into a lifetime of labour, it should come as no surprise to learn that childhood was not regarded well by ancient writers. Cicero, for example, ascribes to Cato the Elder the view that if the gods were to offer him the gift of returning to the cradle and starting life over again as a child, he would refuse (*Sen.* 83). For Cicero and his peers, the idea of rejuvenation looks back to young adulthood, the time when children were fully admitted into the world of their parents, not to reliving the experiences of childhood.¹ The Romans undervalued childhood, in part, because children, like women, lacked the important virtue of reason. Since reason was required to participate in the rational world of the Roman citizen, those who lacked this virtue were perceived as standing outside the norm.² The qualities of children thus were considered negative in relation to those of adults. They were ignorant, capricious, foolish, and quarrelsome. They spoke nonsense, lacked judgement, were physically frail, and easily frightened.³ Adolescence, too, was often denounced. Fearing youthful rashness, cruelty, audacity, and ambition, lawmakers

¹ Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 26–27. In Christian theology, however, the child often was seen as a symbol of a lost, yet desired, pre-fallen state (Currie, “Childhood and Christianity,” 17).

² Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 22–23; Néraudau, *Être enfant*, 91.

³ Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 17–19, 24; see also Golden, *Children and Childhood*, 4–7; and Currie, “Childhood and Christianity,” 15–16.

excluded wealthy males from important political positions until the age of twenty-five.⁴ The adolescent emperor, therefore, was naturally a source of great anxiety for such writers as Herodian and the authors of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*.⁵ The dichotomy between child and adult was resolved by characterizing childhood as a training ground for adult life. As Cicero writes, “the thing itself cannot be praised, only its potential” (*Rep.* 137.3 [Keyes, LCL]). Jewish literature also often portrays childhood negatively.⁶ Children are here characterized as ignorant, capricious, and in need of strict discipline (see 2 Kgs 2:23–24; Isa 3:4; Wis 12:24–25; 15:14; Prov 22:15; Sir 30:1–13). Rabbinic texts associate the young with the deaf and dumb and the weak-minded, indicating that children, too, lack their full faculties (*’Erub.* 3:2; *Šeqal.* 1.3; *Sukkah* 2.8; 3.10, etc.). Set against this background, the injunction of Jesus to receive the kingdom of God “as a little child” (Mark 10:13–16 par) assumes its intended shock value. Only through considerable theological acrobatics were Christian writers able to reconcile Jesus’ words with their culturally-derived negative valuation of childhood.⁷

The adult writers and artists who included children in their works seem to have had little interest in the well-being of their tiny subjects. Children are present but often only as extensions of their guardians. Marcus Aurelius, for example, wrote of the effect the deaths of his children had on him, but did not seem to consider untimely death a

⁴ Eyben, *Restless Youth*, 37–39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 67–68.

⁶ The following references are taken from Gundry-Volf, “The Least and the Greatest,” 35.

⁷ See the lengthy discussion of the issue in Currie, “Childhood and Christianity.” To this day the injunction continues to arouse the interests of Christian theology where most often it is taken, as with the ancient writers, far too literally. As John Dominic Crossan states in *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1991), 269, Jesus used children merely as a metaphor for the powerless in society not because he had any special regard for them.

tragedy for them.⁸ Similarly, many epitaphs lament only the loss to the future of the mortificant's family.⁹ In art, children are featured prominently, particularly since the beginning of the Augustan Period; yet, the images of children found therein are subordinate to adult political needs.¹⁰ The *Ara Pacis*, for example, features evocative family scenes, but the reliefwork is intended to promote citizen reproduction, not to celebrate the experiences of parenting.¹¹ Even the charming images of children at play found on sarcophagi may represent mythical figures rather than the human child who lies within.¹²

Though all writers in antiquity passed through childhood they seldom reflect upon it. When they do, it is only to recount stories of the schoolroom, and even then the aim is to celebrate the education that allowed them to compose their works.¹³ In attempting to explain the virtual absence of autobiographical childhood anecdotes, Currie appeals to Freud's observation that maturation entails a significant degree of amnesia about childhood. The silences should come as no surprise, Currie adds, for "it seems indisputable that adults in many contexts and in many societies appear to think and behave as if they had never been children."¹⁴ Augustine is a notable exception to this trend. In the *Confessions* he devotes a considerable amount of space to his own

⁸ Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 9.

⁹ See further section 7.6 above.

¹⁰ See Huskinson, "Iconography: Another Perspective," 235, responding here to Rawson, "The Iconography of Roman Childhood," 213–17. See also Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, 2.

¹¹ Section 7.2 above includes a reproduction of one section of the *Ara Pacis*.

¹² For examples and discussion see Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, 9–24.

¹³ See Pelling, "Childhood and Personality," 220–23. Among the examples Pelling cites are Nicolaus of Damascus' account of Augustus' childhood in *Vit. Caes.* 4–6; Josephus (*Life* 7–9), Lucian (*Somn.* 1–3); Galen (*Libr. Ord.*, p. 88; *Libr. Propr.*, p. 116); Horace (*Sat.* 1.6.67–92), and Ovid (*Trist.* 4.10.23–6).

¹⁴ Currie, "Childhood and Christianity," 6–7.

childhood, though again this is merely to demonstrate how far he has progressed from the follies of his youth.¹⁵ Writers can hardly be expected to see much value in their childhood when they belong to a society that barely acknowledges pre-pubescent children. Even those who lived a life of privilege like Marcus Aurelius and Cicero were anxious to erase their pasts. Christian writers from the lower classes could only be more eager to escape the memories of their youth.

8.2 Idealized Children.

As reluctant as ancient writers may have been to discuss their own childhoods or to show much interest in the children around them, they had no such hesitation in imagining what childhood was like for their heroes. It would not do, however, for heroes to suffer from the limitations of irrational children. Childhood tales, therefore, are derived from an idealized view of children not from the writers' own childhood experiences, or perhaps, if only subconsciously, as a result of those experiences. The image of the idealized child is seen also, and most profoundly, in the art and literature created to glorify the dead: funerary artifacts and biographies. The exemplary childhoods of the great men and women of antiquity have received much attention in scholarship, particularly in connection with the canonical infancy narratives. Wiedemann's discussion of such biographical material found in classical texts begins with the statement that their subjects are "*not* ordinary citizens," that they were "abnormal, superhuman."¹⁶ Yet, the funerary artifacts indicate that even "ordinary" children could have ascribed to them the

¹⁵ Ibid, 66–69.

¹⁶ Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 51.

same praiseworthy attributes as those bestowed upon emperors, philosophers, and other heroic figures. The ideal, it seems, is so ingrained in Mediterranean culture that even the common person can be stripped of the childlike qualities that society scorns.

8.2.1. Funerary Art and Inscriptions

Funerary artifacts are evidence of a singular kind. Not only are they abundant in information on expectations for the here and the hereafter, but they bear witness to the views and lives of people from all social levels, genders, and ages.¹⁷ Funerary altars and life-cycle reliefs from sarcophagi and funerary couches are particularly valuable in this regard for they are believed to hail from the same social level as the early Christians: the “middle class.”¹⁸ There is no better place to look for evidence of the qualities that non-elite parents valued in their children and, in particular, the way that they wanted their children to be remembered.

As noted previously, the Augustan period was marked by an increase in artistic representations of child life. In the area of funerary art, the increase was dramatic.¹⁹ The first and second centuries appear to have been a time of intense creativity for the crafting of funerary altars and sarcophagi. In addition, new subjects and motifs were designed specifically for depicting children.²⁰ However, a heightened number of depictions does not necessarily mean an increased sensitivity to their subject matter. In his much

¹⁷ Unfortunately, Jewish funerary artifacts rarely include images. The inscriptions and epitaphs, however, share the same views on childhood as their non-Jewish counterparts.

¹⁸ On the social origins of sarcophagi see Rawson, “The Iconography of Roman Childhood,” 232; on funerary couches *ibid.*, 227–30; on altars see D. E. E. Kleiner, “Women and Family Life on Roman Imperial Funerary Altars,” *Latomus* 46 (1987): 553.

¹⁹ Rawson, “The Iconography of Roman Childhood,” 217.

²⁰ Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, 123; Kleiner, “Women and Family Life,” 547.

criticized work *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* (English trans. *Centuries of Childhood*), Philippe Ariès cites examples from art in which children are represented as small adults.²¹ Based on this material he makes the claim that childhood was not invented until the seventeenth century. Subsequent scholars have cited numerous examples which contradict Ariès' position and encourage viewers to consider the symbolic nature of the adultlike depictions.²² Roman-period art, too, is both realistic and symbolic in its depictions of children. Huskinson cautions that the size of figures in art may be representative of their status. Size also could be based on practical considerations—adults appear squat and childlike in the reduced space of a funerary altar, while children appear tall and adultlike in taller spaces.²³ And, given that children's pieces were not specially commissioned, customers often would have to choose from stock; indeed, it was not uncommon for a child's portrait to be placed on an adult body.²⁴ Mythological imagery, prevalent in children's reliefs, also complicates the identification

²¹ Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (trans. Robert Baldick; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962 (= *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* [Paris: Librairie Plon, 1960])). See particularly pp. 33–35.

²² Cunningham, "The History of Childhood," 27; Bell and Harper, *Child Effects*, 5; Janet L. Nelson, "Parents, Children, and the Church in the Earlier Middle Ages (Presidential Address)," Pages 81–114 in *The Church and Childhood* (ed. Diane Wood; SCH 31; Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994), 81–82. François Bonney, however, remains a supporter of Ariès. His essay, "Enfance Divine et Enfance Humaine," in *L'Enfant au Moyen-Age* (ed. Centre universitaire d'études et de recherches médiévales d'Aix-en-Provence; Senefiance 9. Paris: diffusion H. Champion, 1980), 9–24, examines adultlike images of children in iconography of the Middle Ages.

²³ Huskinson, "Iconography: Another Perspective," 237–38; idem, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, 80.

²⁴ Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, 80. Kleiner notes the child Procula whose face looks like that of a five-year-old but it is placed on a body of Diana which has developed breasts ("Women and Family Life," 552). Susan Walker (*Memorials to the Roman Dead* [London: British Museum Publications Limited, 1985], 42–43) adds two further examples including the one-year-old boy Octavius Isochrusus whose image is placed on a figure intended to be a woman (see fig. 8.1).

of children in these works;²⁵ it is difficult, for example, to distinguish between mortals and nonmortals in cupid scenes.²⁶ All of these considerations, Huskinson writes, make “spotting the child” a risky venture.²⁷



Fig. 8.1: The sarcophagus of one-year-old Octavius Isochrysus. Late 3d/early 4th c. Reproduced from Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, plate 15.3.

Nevertheless, funerary artifacts that can be identified through their accompanying epitaphs as belonging to children certainly do betray a tendency to advance the age of the child beyond her or his years. Huskinson labels this form of depiction “proleptic”—i.e., the reliefs either present the children as they would have appeared had they not met an untimely death, or feature symbolic representations of the qualities which they (allegedly)

²⁵ Kleiner, “Women and Family Life,” 552; Huskinson, “Iconography: Another Perspective,” 235.

²⁶ Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, 42.

²⁷ Huskinson, “Iconography: Another Perspective,” 238. See also the discussion in idem, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, 2.

possessed.²⁸ For example, the nine-year-old Florentius had the status of *equus* but not the fine figure of the adult military man in the image on his sarcophagus (see fig. 8.2);²⁹ five-year-old A. Egrilius Magnus is pictured realistically on an altar from Ostia ca. 50–60 C.E. but he looks much older than five;³⁰ and the late first-century altar of Q. Sulpicius Maximus depicts the eleven-year-old as a much older budding orator.³¹ Typical also was the practice of depicting children as adherents of religious cults, even though they would have been too young to be practicing members.³²

²⁸ Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, 2. Kleiner ("Women and Family Life," 553) discusses the first of these categories under the term "prospective." Children are not always depicted as older than their true age. One exception to this tendency is the sarcophagus of Gavius Iulius Paulinus who looks much younger than the seven years indicated in the accompanying inscription (see Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, 88).

²⁹ Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, 93 plate 16.3. See also the funerary altar of Quintus Fabius Proculus who was too young to serve in the Roman army but is represented in military guise (Kleiner, *Roman Imperial Funerary Altars*, no. 62).

³⁰ Reproduced in Rawson, "The Iconography of Roman Childhood," 221.

³¹ Reproduced in *ibid.*, 222. Even boys who could not read, like Aulus Egrilius Magnus, were given scrolls and scroll holders (D. E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Imperial Funerary Altars with Portraits* [Roma: Bretschneider, 1987], 12).

³² Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, 30. Note, for example, Florus, who was represented as a "son of Isis" with a Horus lock (Kleiner, *Roman Imperial Funerary Altars*, 126) and Hateria Superba, with the hairstyle of an Isis worshipper (Kleiner, "Women and Family Life," 553).

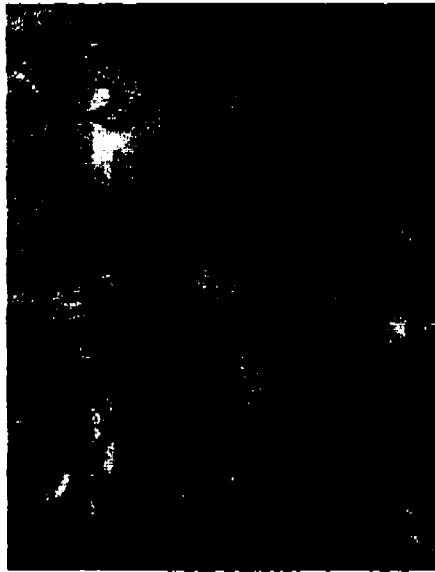


Fig. 8.2: Sarcophagus of the nine-year-old *eques romanus* Florentius ca. 320. Reproduced from Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, plate 16.3.

The symbolic imagery used to represent the deceased's alleged qualities was derived from the world of myth. Kleiner notes a number of altars which depict the mortificant as a divinity. On them, girls are identified with the chaste and young Diana or with Venus. The latter figure was used in both senses of "proleptic," for the young girls associated with her would never grow into their own beauty.³³ On the sarcophagi, the acts of Achilles, Meleager, and Dionysus figure prominently.³⁴ The childhood stories of these figures provide a mythological model for the children's experiences, including, in Meleager's case, dying young. Perhaps the parents of the deceased derived some comfort from the association of their child with a deified hero.

³³ Kleiner, "Women and Family Life," 552. Walker, *Memorials to the Roman Dead*, 36–40. See further D. E. E. Kleiner, "Second-Century Mythological Portraiture: Mars and Venus," *Latomus* 40 (1981): 533–36.

³⁴ Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, 25–35; idem, "Iconography: Another Perspective," 235. For the use of Meleager imagery on adult sarcophagi see Richard Brilliant, *Visual Narratives: Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), 134–52.

For Huskinson the tendency to portray the child as older than the years specified on the epitaph cannot be explained merely by the use of stock images or, as per Ariès, by an inability to portray young children. Instead, she attributes this phenomenon to "social viewing,"

This would mean that discrepancies which seem to us glaring were acceptable (invisible, perhaps) to Roman viewers, and that the portrayal of children with the physical characteristics and attributes of adults was related to social concept rather than actual perception.³⁵

Children's reliefs were commissioned, or simply purchased, by their parents or guardians. The images found therein reflect, therefore, their expectations, or at least their culture's expectations, for their offspring. These children, too young to enter the adult world of their parents, are depicted as the young adults their parents wanted them to be.

And parents wanted their children to be educated. Through education children acquired reason, the requisite virtue required to enter the world of adults. Unfortunately, the untimely deceased would never achieve that goal in life, but they could, in a sense, in death. Huskinson calls the orator "the proleptic figure par excellence."³⁶ The image appears regularly on sarcophagi of infants and young children and in life cycle reliefs generally (see figs. 8.3–4).³⁷ In adult life cycles, however, it appears as an initiation into adulthood; for children, it is the culmination of their biographies, though many of them

³⁵ Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, 81.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 93.

³⁷ Faced with this evidence, H. I. Marrou concludes that the education scenes and images were intended to portray these children, not as they really were, but in light of a certain goal: "le conférencier, l'orateur reste sous l'Empire le type idéal, la forme la plus complète de l'homme cultivé" (*Mousikos anér: Étude sur les scènes de la vie intellectuelle figurant sur les monuments funéraires romains* [Rome: Bretschneider, 1964], 200). In essence, these children become human through such representation (*ibid.*, 201).

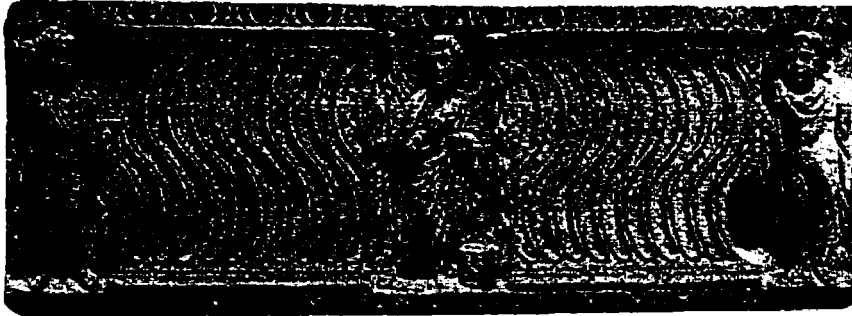


Fig. 8.3: Youth with scroll standing in front of *parapetasma* (curtain). 3d c. Reproduced from Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, pl. 12.1).



Fig. 8.4: The left panel of this child's sarcophagus depicts the resurrection of Lazarus, on the right is a young philosopher seated, reading from a scroll to companions with a woman (*orans*) standing behind. The figure on the far left is a philosopher with scroll. Reproduced from Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, pl. 16.2).

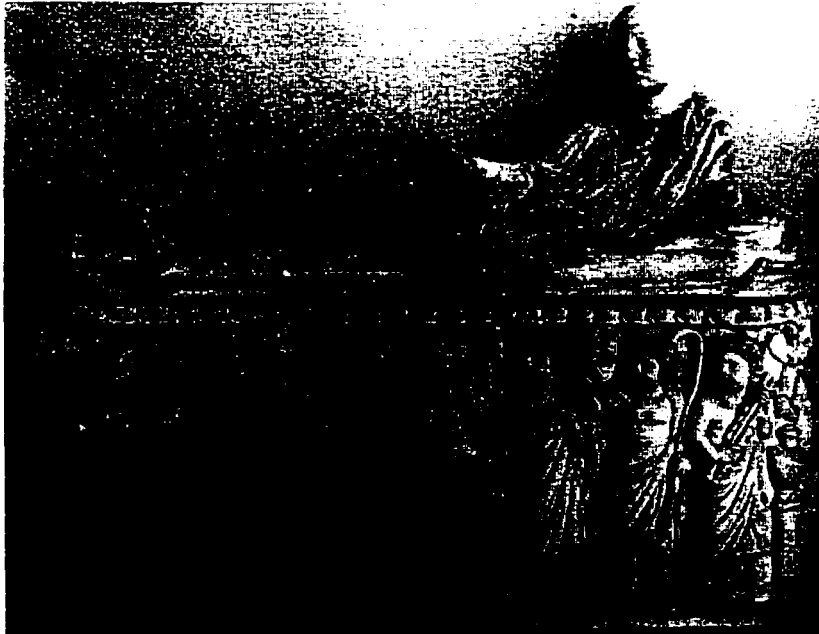


Fig. 8.5: This child's sarcophagus (ca. 280) features a young boy half-draped like a philosopher. The figures surrounding him are nine child-like figures of Muses. The lid has the same (?) boy reclining with scrolls and codices. Reproduced from Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, pl. 10.2).

never even reached school age.³⁸ In death, however, children could receive an education directly from the Muses. Some reliefs explicitly express this hope by placing the child in the company of the Muses in the afterlife (see fig. 8.5).³⁹ Education is also mentioned often in inscriptions. Here young men on the brink of attaining political prominence are praised for their *paideia*.⁴⁰ Such praise is also a topos in the epitaphs of experienced politicians. By making the same claim for their sons, the parents proclaim that they were deserving of the prestigious position that they may have held had they lived to adulthood.⁴¹

Like the education scenes, numerous inscriptions ascribe to children a wisdom that belies their age. Marrou, Néraudau, and Kleijwegt each provide copious examples of the practice,⁴² but two are particularly noteworthy. An inscription from Rome mentions Kritiēs who died at the age of two and a half; for his intelligence, it is said, he should be

³⁸ Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, 93–94; idem, "Iconography: Another Perspective," 237.

³⁹ Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, 94; Néraudau, *Être enfant*, 122–23. See further the lengthy discussions in Marrou, *Mousikos anér*, 231–57; and Franz Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains* (1942; repr., New York: Arno Press, 1975), 253–350.

⁴⁰ Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth*, 84–85.

⁴¹ Similar also are several epitaphs noted by Harry J. Leon (*The Jews of Ancient Rome* (updated ed.; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1995) to children who were set to inherit important positions. The twelve-year-old Marcus Cvyntus Alexis is described as "Archon-to-be of the Augestesians" (Leon no. 284). Two others, the eight-year-old Annianus (no. 88) and the young Iocathinus (no. 120; no age is given but the sarcophagus is small), name the children as archons. Leon connects these instances to the conferring of the title as a mark of honour for the family (ibid, p. 179). The same phenomenon is observed in the position of *decurion* in ancient Italian towns conferred to children (the age in the inscriptions ranges from 4 to 17 years) in recognition of the high distinction or wealth of their families, and in the position of *lector* in Christian communities to children like Vitalis (*CIL* VIII, 453) who, at five years old, could scarcely read (ibid, p. 179–80; see also Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 137; Eyben, *Restless Youth*, 68–71).

⁴² Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth*, 126–30; Néraudau, *Être enfant*, 124–28; Marrou, *Mousikos anér*, 201–7.

compared to someone of gray wisdom.⁴³ Another inscription for a four-year-old from Isauria declares:

...he was very bright in learning, clever in understanding things. He has exercised himself in the finesses of excellence. The god had given all these qualities to him because of his short life. He has bestowed upon a mortal boy an immortal monument (*SEG* 30.1539).⁴⁴

The idealized intelligent, mature child, or *puer senex* (παῖς τέλειος) as the image is commonly known,⁴⁵ appears also in Pliny's panegyric for Minicia Marcella.

She had not yet reached the age of fourteen, and yet she combined the wisdom of age and dignity of womanhood with the sweetness and modesty of youth and innocence. She would cling to her father's neck, and embrace us, his friends, with modest affection; she loved her nurses, her attendants and her teachers, each one for the service given her; she applied herself intelligently to her books and was moderate and restrained in her play (*Ep.* 5,16 [Radice, LCL]).⁴⁶

The same qualities are praised by Quintilian in his own deceased children (*Inst.* 6.7, 10 and the *proemium*). Beauty in children is celebrated too by Pliny, Quintilian, and other writers. This virtue is apparent also in the reliefs associating the deceased child with Venus. It relates to the belief that one's outward appearance is a reflection of the inner soul. Beauty, therefore, was considered a sign of promising character and was valued for how it aroused tenderness (see Pliny, *Ep.* 3, 3; 3, 16). It was seen also as an indication that a child had acquired the virtues of his or her parents.⁴⁷ Augustus' speech encouraging childrearing illustrates the weight of this expectation: "is it not a delight to acknowledge a

⁴³ This example is provided by Kleijwegt (*Ancient Youth*, 126). Unfortunately, he does not provide his source.

⁴⁴ English translation from Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth*, 128.

⁴⁵ See Teresa C. Carp, "Puer senex in Roman and Medieval Thought," *Latomus* 39 (1980): 736–39. Eyben, *Restless Youth*, 10; Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth*, 124–25.

⁴⁶ Marcella was actually twelve years old at her death. *ILS* 1030 records her epitaph.

⁴⁷ Physical resemblance was important also because it served as proof of the mother's chastity. See Catullus 61.216–25.

child who shows the endowments of both parents, to nurture and educate it, at once the physical and the spiritual mirror of yourself, so that, in its growth another self lives again?" (Dio, *Hist.* 56.3 [Cary, LCL]). Beauty alone, however, does not promise success in life. The inner beauty reflected in the body must be cultivated through education.⁴⁸

Education was so integral to what defined a man in Roman society that the parents of the prematurely deceased exaggerated their children's intellectual abilities so that they would not be cheated of the distinction which it affords. In death they received the education that they should have received in life.⁴⁹ Though all classes appear to have valued and employed the *puer senex* motif, the lower classes may have valued it most of all. For them education was significant because it was the family's only avenue for upward mobility in society.⁵⁰ A son's untimely death, therefore, forestalled attempts to improve the family's standing in the next generation. Little wonder, then, that the sarcophagi and funerary altars commissioned by the lower classes make ample use of educational imagery.

Such imagery is found also on Christian sarcophagi. Naturalistic reliefwork, however, is not. For all the bravado of some scholars that Christianity improved the lot of children, the visual representation of "real" children's experience suffered with its ascendancy. Naturalistic depictions of the child at play waned as Christian reliefwork moved away from commemorating activities or aspirations that relate to this world.⁵¹ In

⁴⁸ Néraudau, *Être enfant*, 122–23.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 126–28; Currie, "Childhood and Christianity," 30.

⁵⁰ Rawson, "The Iconography of Roman Childhood," 223.

⁵¹ Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, 119. The depiction of Jesus on early Christian sarcophagi may have some bearing on the present subject. In the popular representation of his baptism, Jesus is shown as a naked boy before a larger, adult John the Baptist (see Graydon F. Snyder, *Ante Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life Before Constantine* [Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1985], 57–58, 23 pl. 9).

their place, Christianity tended to convey the images of what the child would receive in the hereafter rather than what he or she missed by dying.⁵² Educational themes, however, remained popular (see fig. 8.4).⁵³ So too did the *puer senex* motif. For example, a Christian girl named Apollonia is remembered for being “of outstanding goodness, marvelous modesty and wise beyond her years” (*ILCV* 3.36).

The enduring popularity of the “proleptic” portrayal of the untimely deceased can be attributed to the general unease that Romans felt about commemorating the deaths of their children. The theme that children were not supposed to predecease parents is very common in epitaphs.⁵⁴ In part, this is due to the fear of entering old age without support, but there seems also to be something improper about a child not surviving to adulthood. Indeed, a person who does not live to complete an education is considered by Romans not a person at all. Fortunately for the parents of these children the image of the *puer senex* could be employed to elevate them to adulthood after death. Nowhere is the ideal of the *puer senex* better demonstrated than in these reliefs and epitaphs, for they demonstrate that the ideal is not merely a literary motif to be applied to the great men of history, but that it penetrates down to the lower classes and lies at the very root of the culture.

8.2.2 Idealized Children in Biography

The child in antiquity is defined by its powerlessness. Such terms as *infans* (literally, not speaking) or *παῖς* (which also denotes a slave) are indicative of children's

Also, early depictions of Jesus as a miracle-worker portray him as a beardless youth (*ibid.* 56).

⁵² See the discussion in Currie, “Childhood and Christianity,” 93–95.

⁵³ Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, 68.

⁵⁴ See Richmond Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962), 187–91.

status in the adult world.⁵⁵ But what of the child who holds power? Can the child emperor, young philosopher, or infant miracleworker still be considered a child at all? These are the questions Currie poses at the start of her dissertation when defining children.⁵⁶ They are worth considering when examining accounts of venerated figures, for these men and women of power, when children, display none of the characteristics one would expect to see in a child.

Several factors contributed to the construction of the childhood stories. First, recall from chapter six the discussion on notions of character and personality in antiquity. The qualities for which the adult was known were believed to be present in the individual from birth. Childhood tales, therefore, tend to foreshadow the subjects' later accomplishments, or even offenses. Second, common to many of the protagonists in the tales is some connection to the divine. The association is due to the role of the subject. The Greek Heroes, for example, achieve immortality after their death, emperors may also become gods, and writers or philosophers are connected to the gods through their association with the Muses. If a writer wished to indicate a link between his subject and the gods, infancy and childhood provided an ideal setting for revelations of divine favour for children were considered liminal, that is, they were still connected to the supernatural world through their tender age and their precocious spirit (see section 7.5 above). Omens and dreams before or at birth and portentous childhood actions or speech were prime vehicles to illustrate the intrusion of the divine powers into the world below.

Childhood and infancy tales of the great men, and sometimes women, of history are plentiful. As noted in chapter six above (section 6.3), such tales are found not only

⁵⁵ For a more detailed discussion of etymology see Golden, *Children and Childhood*, 12–17.

among Mediterranean cultures but throughout the world. Those who study the so-called Hero myth note the similarities in the biographies of some of these figures and pay close attention to the events that surround their origins. The typical pattern includes omens before birth, exposure, and an attempt on the child's life. Though childhood stories are also told of these figures, the absence of formal correspondence between the various episodes precludes the addition of "childhood" to the narrative pattern of the Hero myth. What is common, however, is the tendency to portray these figures as adults even in youth, to have them exhibit as children the abilities and wisdom that would define their adult accomplishments. Theseus, for example, discovers his future destiny by using his already prodigious strength to move the stone which hid the sword and sandals left for him by his father (Plutarch, *Thes.* 3). Heracles demonstrates his strength and character as an infant by strangling the two snakes sent by Hera to kill him (Apollodorus 2.4.8), and displays his temperament as a child when he kills his tutor for an unjust chastisement (Apollodorus 2.4.9). Also, the legends of Cyrus recorded by Herodotus portray the Persian king as a typical Hero. After his rescue from exposure, the ten-year-old Cyrus is chosen king in a game played with other children. Engrossed in his role, the boy scourges a noble and then defends his actions in an eloquence that belies his age (*Hist.* 114–15). The inspiration behind these episodes may lie in tales of the gods. They, too, occasionally performed deeds while still infants.⁵⁷ Hermes, the patron deity of thieves, steals Apollo's

⁵⁶ Currie, "Childhood and Christianity," 3–5.

⁵⁷ In Greek iconography, however, only male gods are ever portrayed as children. Goddesses appear at their youngest as young adults. Lesley Beaumont connects this convention to the social reality of women's lives in Athens: "Heroic and mortal female life begins, therefore, in the sense of being socially recognizable, only once the state of potential sexual receptivity to the male is attained" ("Mythological Childhood: A Male Preserve?" *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 90 [1995]: 360).

cattle while a newborn (*Hymn. Herm.* 17),⁵⁸ and Apollo kills Python while nestled in his mother's arms (Apollodorus 1.4.1). In Egypt, Si-Osiri outwits his teacher, and at twelve his wisdom is said to be greater than all in Memphis.⁵⁹ Twelve is also the age that a young Buddha enters his first trance, and both the young Buddha and Krishna display great knowledge and humble their teachers.⁶⁰

Arguably, the heroes and gods perform wondrous deeds as children because they are not truly human; yet, the childhood tales of the Greek poets prove that a figure need not be superhuman to be afforded adultlike qualities in his or her youth. As with the stories of the gods, the biographies of poets depict childhood as a time in which future promise is revealed. Typically, this is demonstrated with a story in which bees sit and/or make honey on the young poet's lips.⁶¹ They also may encounter the Muses. In a story of Archilochus as a boy recorded by Mnesiepes, the poet is sent by his father to bring a cow to market. He is greeted by some women who offer to buy the cow, but before he can reply both the women and the cow vanish. In their place he finds a lyre. He then realizes the women were the Muses.⁶² The same tale is told of Hesiod by Tzetzes (*Theog.* 31ff.), whereas Pindar (*Vit. Pind.* 1.1.11), Homer (Ps.-Herodotus, *Vit. Hom.* 5), Sophocles (*Vit. Soph.* 3), Euripedes (Diogenes Laertius 4–7), and Aeschylus (Pausanias 1.21.2) are

⁵⁸ Cited in Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion* (trans. John Raffan; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 156.

⁵⁹ The primary texts are found in Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, 44, 50.

⁶⁰ The stories are excerpted in Thundy, "Intertextuality," 51, 55; and idem, *Buddha and Christ*, 118–22.

⁶¹ The motif is found in tales of Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Sophocles, Plato, Menander, Virgil, and Lucan. For sources see Alice Swift Riginos, *Platonica: The Anecdotes Concerning the Life and Writings of Plato* (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 3; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), 17, 19 n. 39. Christians also made use of the motif. Paulinus employs it in a tale of Ambrose (*Vit. Ambr.* 3.2–5).

⁶² The inscription is cited in Mary R. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1981), 27–28.

provided other means of demonstrating their talents in childhood.⁶³ Homer and Hesiod, the poets of the heroic age, receive additional approval from the gods in stories of their divine paternity.⁶⁴ In the case of Homer, at least, this development may have its origin in the poet's work. His character Demodocus was taught either by a Muse or Apollo himself.

The divine again breaks into history in the lives of the emperors.⁶⁵ As with many cultures in antiquity, Greco-Roman society was intimately connected to the gods worshipped by its people. As rulers, emperors were naturally identified with the Empire itself and consequently also with its deities. Therefore, any major changes in the governing of the Empire were said to be accompanied by dreams, portents, and cosmic signs, all of which indicated the direction and interest of the gods. Over time, as the Empire came into contact with cultures who deified their leaders, the Roman emperors took on the status of gods, first at their deaths, and later during life.⁶⁶ Few of them, however, are said to have performed miracles—Pyrrhos was a healer (Plutarch, *Pyrrh.* 3:3–4) and Vespasian performed a healing in Alexandria at the shrine of Serapis, the Hellenistic deity famed for healings and working miracles (Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.81; Dio, *Hist.*

⁶³ The material is described briefly by Lefkowitz (ibid, 91).

⁶⁴ Homer was said to be the son of a Muse and of Apollo, or a direct descendent of Apollo through Orpheus or Musaeus (Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets*, 12–13). In the second-century C.E. anonymous work *On Homer and Hesiod, Their Origin and Their Contest*, a genealogy of Hesiod has him descended on his father's side from Linos, son of Apollo, and from Orpheus, and on his mother's side directly from Apollo (ibid, 7).

⁶⁵ Childhood stories in the various imperial biographies are discussed in considerable detail in Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 49–83.

⁶⁶ Ross Tylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Middletown, Conn.: American Philological Association, 1931) details the Egyptian and Persian background of the deification of Alexander and other Hellenistic rulers and the efforts to establish links between the Julio-Claudian rulers and the traditional gods.

65.8; Suetonius, *Vesp.* 7).⁶⁷ The childhood stories of emperors, therefore, rarely feature their protagonists accomplishing wondrous feats but they do follow conventions intended to illustrate that their subjects are greater than the average person.

The model for the tales of the emperors was created by those who narrated legends of Alexander the Great. Pseudo-Callisthenes' *Alexander Romance*, a late collection of the tales, features divine paternity (from Ammon),⁶⁸ omens at birth,⁶⁹ and wisdom in childhood.⁷⁰ The latter two motifs became so customary that Quintilian recommended they be used in panegyrics (*Inst.* 3.7). Suetonius heeded this advice when he composed his biographies of the emperors. He reports omens attending the births of Augustus (94), Tiberius (14), Nero (6), Titus (2 and 5), and Galba (4), and tales of childhood eloquence for Tiberius (9), Claudius (3), and Titus (3). Even the cruel emperors—Vitellius (3), Caligula (9), Otho, and Tiberius (57)—have childhood tales that foretell their future crimes. Of them all, the popular Augustus is granted the most divine honours. Augustus wished to be compared with Alexander,⁷¹ and Suetonius' tales of divine paternity (through Apollo), and miracles in infancy and childhood (*Aug.* 94) reflect that desire. The more sober *Life of Augustus* by Nicolaus of Damascus eschews childhood miracles. It does, however, relate a tale of adultlike wisdom. The nine-year old Augustus is said to have amazed the crowd with a eulogy at his grandmother's funeral (*Vit. Caes.* 3.4).

⁶⁷ See the discussion in Kee, *Miracle*, 174–83.

⁶⁸ Ps.-Callisthenes 9; see also Plutarch, *Alex.* 3:1–2. Riginos sees divine paternity as a common motif which, after the fourth century B.C.E., “became one of the stock stories told of eminent philosophers and statesmen alike” (*Platonica*, 15).

⁶⁹ Ps.-Callisthenes 27; see also Plutarch, *Alex.* 3.

⁷⁰ Ps.-Callisthenes 30–62; see also Plutarch, *Alex.* 4–7.

⁷¹ Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 58.

Emperors were not the only Greco-Roman statesmen to whom omens at birth and/or wisdom in childhood were ascribed. Plutarch attributes such honours to Cicero (2:2), Themistocles (2:1), Pericles (6:2–3), Caius Marius (3:3–4:1), Lycurgus (5), Solon (2), and Dion (4:2). For notorious figures, such as Alcibiades and Cato the Younger, Plutarch records early signs of their negative character. A century earlier, Nepos composed a Latin collection of Lives similar to that of Plutarch. Though not as attracted to miracles as his literary antecedents, Nepos does attribute to Epaminondas an intelligence superior to his fellow pupils (*Epam.* 2.2) and to the equestrian Caecilius Atticus such a great capacity for learning and popularity among his peers that he “shone forth more brightly than his noble-spirited friends could bear with equanimity” (*Att.* 1.3, Horsfall).

The lives of the later emperors recorded in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* continue, and at times amplify, the motifs employed to great effect by Suetonius and Plutarch. By the time of *S.H.A.*’s composition, childhood stories had become commonplace in imperial biographies.⁷² Menander, writing around 300 C.E. on how to construct panegyrics for emperors, advises orators to invent such tales. He recommends also to praise the subject’s beauty and to emphasize his excellence at school:

Then you must speak of his love of learning, his quickness, his enthusiasm for study, his easy grasp of what is taught him. If he excels in literature, philosophy, and knowledge of letters, you must praise this. If it was practice of war and arms, you must admire him for having been born luckily, with Fortune to woo the future for him. Again: “In his education, he stood out among his contemporaries, like Achilles, like Heracles, like the Dioscuri” (*Treatise* II 371.26–372.2, Russell and Wilson).

⁷² Wiedemann (*ibid.*, 113–42) attributes this increased interest in childhood tales to the fact that the existence of child emperors was breaking down the distinction between child and adult citizen. For responses see Eyben, *Restless Youth*, 28–68 and Nathan, *The Family in Late Antiquity*, 134.

The writers of *S.H.A.*, following convention, record omens at birth for Clodius Albinus (5.4–10), Commodus Antoninus (1.3–4), Pertinax (1.2–3), Geta Antoninus (1.3–5; foretelling his eventual death), Gordian (20.1–6), Maximus (5.3–4), Aurelian (4.4–5:3), and Diadumenus Antoninus (4), and prophetic childhood tales of Septimus Severus (1.4), Clodius Albinus (5.2–3), Commodus Antoninus' cruelty (1.8–10), and Diadumenus Antoninus who was a child emperor "cruel beyond his years" (8.4. Magie). Praiseworthy are the childhood talents of Marcus Antoninus (2.1, 6), Lucius Verus (2.6–7), Pertinax (1.4), Septimus Severus (1.4), Severus Alexander (3.1–3), Aurelian (4.1), Probus (3.5–7), Numerian (11.1–2), and, most of all, Antoninus Caracallus who is presented as a particularly ideal model: "in his boyhood, [he] was winsome and clever, respectful to his parents and courteous to his parents' friends, beloved by the people, popular with the senate, and well able to further his own interests in winning affection" (1.3–4, Magie). As with Suetonius and Plutarch, the more notorious figures of *S.H.A.* are portrayed negatively. Instead of emphasizing their intelligence, stories of Pescennius Niger (1.4), Clodius Albinus (5.1), and Commodus Antoninus (1.6–7) tell of their failures to excel in school. All of these childhood tale motifs are further amplified in the works of other fourth-century imperial biographers such as Nazarius and Claudian. Nazarius, for example, writes of a three- or four-year-old son of Constantine that he "already overcomes his age with his spirit" (*Pan. Lat.* 4/10, 3.5, Nixon and Rodgers).

For philosophers, childhood tales are relatively rare. The most important pre-adulthood event for the typical philosopher, it seems, comes as a young adult at which time he chooses a particular philosophical school. Diogenes Laertius, writing in the early third century, records very little childhood material in his *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*.

Of Heraclitus he writes that he was "exceptional from his boyhood" and that "he was nobody's pupil, but he declared that he 'inquired of himself,' and learned everything from himself" (9.5, Hicks). Epicurus (10.14) is said to have devoted himself to philosophy at the age of twelve. The only philosopher to receive divine honours by Diogenes Laertius is Plato. Diogenes reports an anecdote which ascribes to him divine paternity and virginal conception through Apollo (3.2).⁷³ And like other esteemed philosophers and poets, Plato begins to distinguish himself when a young adult.⁷⁴ The same motif of youthful promise is used by Philostratus in his *Lives of the Sophists*. Several of his subjects, however, including Polemo (530), Philagrius of Cilicia (578), Athenadorus, and Proclus of Naucratis (603), are described as beginning their philosophical careers while still "mere boys." Lucian, too, writes of Demonax, "the best of all philosophers" (*Demon.* 2, Harmon), that, though he studied with wise men, he was not enlisted to this profession by them, rather "even from his boyhood [he] felt the stirring of an individual impulse toward the higher life and an inborn love for philosophy" (3, Harmon). In childhood also Demonax led his life as an example to others and trained his body ascetically (3-4).

⁷³ See Riginos, *Platonica*, 10 for other primary texts. Plato may be the first figure in antiquity to be the progeny of a mortal woman and divine father outside of the Greek heroes of Homer and Hesiod. The concept may have its origin in Plato's own works. According to Lefkowitz and Riginos, the missing details of both Plato's life and the lives of the poets were filled in with information from the very works for which the writers would become known: "The lives of archaic poets derive from the 'autobiography' of their first-person statements, supplemented by 'facts' gathered from their poetry. The primary source material for the lives of the tragic poets are the dramas themselves; but since tragic poets do not speak directly in their own persons, stories about the tragic poets derive from impressions about their style and 'representative' verses in their poetry" (Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets*, 67; see also Riginos, *Platonica*, 49). If so, it is easy to see how the motif of divine paternity became associated with Plato, for in *Phaedo* (84E-85B) Plato describes the philosopher as the true servant of Apollo.

Childhood stories appear more regularly in works which portray the philosopher as a wonderworker. Eunapius' *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists* contains adult miracle accounts of Chrysanthius (474), Maximus (479–80), and Prophaeresius (487). As for childhood tales, an omen at birth is reported for Ablabius (463) and a lengthy story is told of the woman Sosipatra, who “even as a small child...seemed to bring a blessing on everything, such beauty and decorum illumined her infant years” (466, Wright). Realizing Sosipatra's potential, a group of Chaldeans adopt her when she is only five years old and train her to develop oracular powers (466–70). Another philosopher said to display oracular abilities is the son of Chrysanthius. Like Sosipatra, he too displayed promise even as a child,

From his childhood this boy was a creature winged for every excellence, and of the two horses as Plato describes them, his soul possessed only the good steed, nor did his intellect ever sink; but he was a devoted student, keenwitted, and assiduous in the worship of the gods; and so completely was he emancipated from human weaknesses, that though a mortal man he was all soul (Eunapius, *Vit. soph.* 504, Wright).

The two paradigmatic Divine Men, Apollonius and Pythagoras, are both given divine paternity by their biographers (Porphyry, *Vit. Pyth.* 28; Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 2.3–5; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.4–6). One story of Pythagoras is particularly infused with supernatural motifs. In it Pythagoras' father discovers the boy as a baby lying under a tree, gazing up at the sky with a flute in his mouth, and being nourished by the dew from the tree (Porphyry, *Vit. Pyth.* 10). Apollonius' childhood is more typical. Omens attend his birth (Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.4–6) and, when he reaches school-age, he soon surpasses his teacher (1.7). Apollonius also demonstrates his powers of healing and oracular wisdom when only a youth (1.8–11).

⁷⁴ The tales of Plato excelling as a champion wrestler, a painter, and poet are, again, likely

At the same time as Nepos, Plutarch, Suetonius, and others were writing their biographies, Jewish writers used the same childhood motifs to embroider the stories of several prominent Jewish figures. Taking as their start the biblical tales of Moses (Exod 1-2), Isaac (Gen 21), Jacob (Gen 25:19-27), and the annunciations of Isaac (Gen 17-18), Samuel (1 Sam 1), and Samson (Judg 13), writers from as early as the first century B.C.E. filled in such details as omens at birth, uncanny beauty, and both infancy and childhood prodigies.⁷⁵ The most well-known stories are those told of Moses by Philo (*Moses* 1.5-1.24) and Josephus (*Ant.* 2.9.2-3, 6, 7; 2.10.1-2). Additional tales can be found of Moses (*L.A.B.* 9:10), Isaac,⁷⁶ Samson (*Ant.* 5.8.1-4; *L.A.B.* 42.1-10), Noah (*I En.* 106:11-19; *I QapGen*^w 2), Abraham (*Jub.* 11:14-24), Malachi (*Liv. Pro.* 16:1), and Elijah (*Liv. Pro.* 21:2).⁷⁷ Additional tales of Jewish luminaries include early Christian and Jewish references to Solomon beginning his career at the age of twelve⁷⁸ and an often-repeated story in which the twelve-year-old Daniel displays wisdom and spiritual maturity.⁷⁹ The motif of adultlike wisdom in youth is so commonplace in antique biographies that Josephus even bestows it upon himself (*Life* 9).

inspired by the educational theory of the *Republic* (Riginos, *Platonica*, 41-49).

⁷⁵ Material from the first century B.C.E. to the second century C.E. is discussed in Perrot, "Les récits d'enfance," 481-504. Medieval tales can be found in Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* (Abraham 1:189; Noah 1:146-47; Samuel 4:59-60), and throughout Angeio Solomon Rappoport, *Myth and Legend of Ancient Israel* (3 vols.; New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1966).

⁷⁶ For the primary sources see Perrot, "Les récits d'enfance," 488-93.

⁷⁷ In the Elijah tale, the angels who appeared to the prophet's father at the boy's birth "wrapped him in swaddling clothes of fire and gave him a flame of fire to eat" (*Liv. Pro.* 21:2, Hare). The Oracle in Jerusalem sees this as a portent of his future career.

⁷⁸ Josephus, *Ant.* 5.10.4. Solomon is said to have ascended the throne at the age of 12 in Eupolemus, frg. 2 and a LXX passage not in the Masoretic text (de Jonge, "Sonship," 322). Also, in the fourth-century Epistle of Maria of Cassobola, Solomon is said to have been only 12 when he delivered his famous judgement on the two women (*ibid.*).

⁷⁹ See de Jonge, "Sonship," 323 for the primary literature.

In Christianity, childhood tales both predate and antedate IGT. Matthew and Luke each feature the motifs of divine paternity, omens before and after birth, and early recognition of Jesus' future role. Stories later incorporated into *Ps.-Mt.* (chs. 18–24) feature an infant Jesus who speaks eloquently and performs miracles. Mary, too, is the product of a divine conception in *Prot. Jas.* (1–5) and, when dedicated to the Temple at the age of three, she acts with a maturity beyond her years (*Prot. Jas.* 7:9–8:1). In the tales of Origen's childhood reported by Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 6),⁸⁰ the theologian demonstrates a longing for martyrdom when a child, and begins early his search for allegorical meaning in the scriptures. Such passion for study pleases his father who, Eusebius writes, "rejoiced greatly, and gave profound thanks to God, the Author of all good things, that he had deemed him worthy to be the father of such a boy" (6.2.10, Lake). The same motifs continue into Paulinus' *Life of Ambrose*, which has the future bishop instruct his family to kiss his hand (*Vit. Ambr.* 2.4), in Rufinus' story of Athanasius playing at performing baptisms (*Hist.* 1.14), and in the *Life of Caesarius* of Arles who, at the age of seven would confound his parents by giving his clothes away to the poor (ch. 3).⁸¹ Some of the early saints are said to have dedicated themselves to God at an early age. Rumwold, for example, lived only three days, but before he died he professed his faith in a lengthy sermon to his family.⁸² Prudentius (*Perist.* 10) and Eupraxia (*Perist.* 3) did the same at seven years of age, Assela was ten, and Eulalia and

⁸⁰ These stories may predate Eusebius (see *Hist. eccl.* 6.33) though they were likely given modified form by Eusebius who uses them to counter the charge by Porphyry that Origen used Greek ideas and methods to analyze Jewish traditions (see 6.19 on Porphyry). In response, Eusebius maintains that Origen read only the scriptures and avoided other works.

⁸¹ Clark, *The Fathers and the Children*, 14–15.

⁸² Cited in Carp, "Puer senex," 737.

Macrina were twelve.⁸³ The holiness and precocity which these saints display grows out of a notion that the typical behaviours associated with children by the hagiographers— theft, sexual exploration, quarreling, lack of control in speaking—were sinful; holy children, therefore, must display none of these qualities.⁸⁴ These same motives lie behind Greek, Roman, and, likely, Jewish tales—namely, venerable figures are too special to have suffered the indignities of childhood.

The foregoing list of childhood tales is extensive but by no means complete. Their enumeration is intended to illustrate how widespread such stories were in antiquity and why they were written. The primary purpose behind the tales appears to be to demonstrate a consistency of character; an esteemed figure, therefore, would have ascribed to him or her stories of beneficence, or signs of intelligence, military skill, or whatever quality for which they were known in adulthood, while notorious figures were portrayed as cruel, calculating, or coddled, even as children. Childhood thus becomes a choice time in a person's life for exploitation in propaganda.⁸⁵

Those tales designed to elevate their subject tend to include a close relationship with the divine realm, though this motif is more a function of the connection between their particular role and the interests of the gods than it is a statement about the subject's

⁸³ See Clark, *The Fathers and the Children*, 14–16. Though fanciful, the stories reflect the reality that a child's profession of virginity could be taken seriously. Basil allowed such declarations to be firm from adulthood (age 12), though he preferred 16 or 17 (ibid, 16–17). Later examples of the *puer senex* in hagiography are mentioned in Nelson, "Parents, Children and the Church," 88–89.

⁸⁴ Nelson, "Parents, Children and the Church," 85–86.

⁸⁵ On biographies as propaganda see Talbert, *What is a Gospel*, 92–109; Burrige, *What are the Gospels*, 76; David E. Aune, *The New Testament in its Literary Environment* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987), 35; Cox, *Biography in Antiquity*, xiv–xv, as negative propaganda, ibid, 10–12, and Pelling, "Childhood and Personality," 217. Pelling mentions in this context Aeschines who helped his father in the schoolroom and his mother in her initiation rites (Dem. 18.258–59, 19.199).

own divinity. Scholars interested in parallels between the canonical gospels and Greco-Roman biography have tended to read too much into early signs of divinity. They have made distinctions between how “normal” people are presented in the literature and those who are granted divine or near-divine status. Cox, for example, in attempting to isolate from Greco-Roman biography a sketch of the “Holy Man,” separates philosophers said to be “sons of gods” from those merely “godlike” by the former’s divine paternity.⁸⁶ In addition, “son of god” philosophers are distinguished from the “godlike” by the miracles they perform. But such strict distinctions cannot be sustained. Cox fails to take into account the use of the motif of divine paternity for emperors and poets, neither of which, except in rare exceptions, are portrayed as miracleworkers. The misunderstanding stems from seeing a motif used to describe a person’s close relationship to the divine as having a limited and definitive function. But by the time of Jesus, the distinction between the supernaturally-conceived and the supernaturally-endorsed has been lost, making divinely-sanctioned emperors divine, the philosopher or poet loved by Apollo an actual son of Apollo, and the holy man dedicated to godliness a god incarnate. A similar problem arises when an attempt is made to separate figures by the ascription of childhood prodigies. Cox and Talbert both distinguish Divine Men from everyday people by their displays of great childhood wisdom,⁸⁷ yet this distinction is difficult to maintain given the prevalence of the *puer senex* image both in literature and in epitaphs.

Superhuman or not, the one common quality in the childhoods of all these figures is their youthful promise. They all demonstrate wisdom and maturity that belie their age. They excel at school, sometimes surpassing even the abilities of their teachers. They are

⁸⁶ Cox, *Biography in Antiquity*, 34.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 22–23; Talbert, *What is a Gospel*, 136.

praised for their seriousness. When they play, it is only in games that prophesy their future roles. The origin of these motifs may be traced in part to the blurring of boundaries between gods and humans. Fed on nectar and ambrosia, the gods grew and developed at an abnormally rapid rate and passed quickly through childhood (see *Hymn. Apoll.* 123–25; Hesiod, *Theog.* 492–93; Sophocles, *Ichn.* 271–72).⁸⁸ But the same ability to transcend childhood is ascribed to any outstanding person by Nazarius, for many “a vigorous talent has burst through the envelopment of infancy” (*Pan. Lat.* 4/10, 3.5, Nixon and Rodgers). It is also prevalent in the funerary artifacts. Adultlike wisdom and excellence at learning clearly are not reserved for the superhuman.

8.3 Jesus and the Idealized Child.

IGT is rarely mentioned in discussions of ancient biographical literature. Classicists likely see it as lying outside their domain; NT scholars, however, simply fail to see its connection with the other texts. This is not because they cannot see parallels between Christian and non-Christian literature. Much has been made of the parallels between the twelve-year-old Jesus in Luke and similar stories of other figures.⁸⁹ In addition, the study of both Luke’s and Matthew’s infancy narratives has been enriched by comparisons with other literature which feature such motifs as divine paternity, and omens and dreams at birth. For IGT, however, scholars have allowed theories of gnostic

⁸⁸ Beaumont, “Mythological Childhood,” 360.

⁸⁹ See particularly de Jonge, “Sonship,” and Charles H. Talbert, “Prophecies of Future Greatness: The Contribution of Greco-Roman Biographies to an Understanding of Luke 1:5–4:15,” in *The Divine Helmsman: Studies on God’s Control of Human Events, Presented to Lou Silberman* (eds. James L. Crenshaw and Samuel Sandmel; New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1980), 129–41.

origins and expurgation to overshadow the obvious parallels to non-Christian childhood stories. For example, Currie, though well-versed in childhood tales from hagiographical literature, sees IGT only as a vehicle for docetism. The text's enhancement of Jesus' intellect in the *Temple* story, she writes, is at variance with Luke, which "could be interpreted as evidence of Christ's precociousness, but nothing more."⁹⁰ In reality, however, IGT merely brings Luke's story into accord with the non-Christian parallels which typically have their protagonists surpass the teachers just as IGT's Jesus does. Luke seems to "dumb down" Jesus, whereas IGT is more true to the pattern. The punitive miracles and antisocial behaviour exhibited by Jesus in IGT have similarly obscured the parallels. NT scholars have seized upon these aspects of the text and characterized the young Jesus as a gnostic Redeemer or precocious god-child. Focusing on these elements of the text alone results in a neglect of parallels with human figures. But Jesus performs miracles as a child only because that is what his adult counterpart does, not simply because he is divine; and he curses those around him because the author of the tales sees the adult Jesus as a prophet like Elijah, not because of docetic christology or gnostic contempt for the world. Once IGT is divorced from the idea that its portrayal of Jesus is heretical—gnostic or docetic—the parallels with other figures come more into focus.

8.3.1 Generic Similarities

For IGT's Jesus to be compared with the protagonists of other childhood stories the texts containing the tales must share certain recognizable generic features. The criteria by which texts are grouped together as genres entail significant agreement in

⁹⁰ Currie, "Childhood and Christianity," 207.

three areas: form, content, and function.⁹¹ IGT's stories do indeed show significant enough overlap with other childhood tales to satisfy the criteria of content. In general, they fit into the pattern of the childhood prodigy, a type of story which indicates, here as elsewhere, the subject's connection with the divine, and hints at his future venerated status. Like the Jesus of the NT gospels, IGT's Jesus raises a boy from death (*Gs* 9), curses his opponents (*Gs* 3:2–3; 4:2; 5:1; 13:2), and performs a variety of supernatural acts including animating birds (*Gs* 2:4), purifying water (*Gs* 2:1), stretching wood (*Gs* 12:2), and carrying water in a permeable garment (*Gs* 10:2). Other tales recall specific episodes from Jesus' adult years: the commissioning of the twelve apostles (*Gs* 2:4), and the conflicts with Pharisees over Sabbath observance (*Gs* 2–3). Even his encounter with the son of Annas reflects the eventual conflict between Jesus and the High Priest. In IGT, however, it is Annas (represented by his son) who suffers, not Jesus. The few sayings of Jesus incorporated into the text portray the boy, like the adult, as the teacher of obscure lessons. One saying in particular features familiar salvific, eschatological language; restoring sight to his accusers, Jesus declares: "Now let the barren bear fruit and the blind see and the foolish in heart find wisdom" (*Gs* 8:1). Though the tenor of the tales is striking, presumably there is nothing about them that would have alarmed early readers of the stories. Indeed, the earliest church writers to comment on the text object to the stories not because they are offensive but because they contradict John's claim that Jesus performed no miracles before his first sign in Cana (see above 2.1.2.1, 2.1.2.3, 2.1.3.3, and 2.1.3.5).⁹² If the tales were not consistent with the author's and audience's view of

⁹¹ Aune, *The New Testament in its Literary Environment*, 13; Talbert, *What is a Gospel*, 6–7; Burridge, *What are the Gospels*, 109–27.

⁹² Epiphanius may be an exception. He neither appears offended at the tales nor at the idea that Jesus performed miracles as a child (see above 2.1.2.4). Of all the early writers

Jesus, the text would have had no resonance—neither then nor during its eighteen centuries of transmission.

Some of the IGT stories have particularly strong parallels in content with other childhood tales. The teacher episodes, including also *Jesus in the Temple* (Gs 17), show Jesus surpassing his teachers just as Philo's Moses, the Buddha, Krishna, the poets, the philosophers, and others do. Hercules even strikes his teacher, just like Jesus. All of these children, be they gods, poets, emperors, statesmen, or Holy Men, are celebrated for their skill at learning. Indeed, displays of superhuman or adultlike wisdom are the hallmark of all idealized representations of children.

On a formal level, however, IGT is much unlike the other literature. Individual episodes certainly evoke the forms typically employed for miracles and healings in the NT and other accounts of wonderworkers, so readers would doubtless make the intended connection between IGT's Jesus and these other figures. But the overall text is a self-contained narrative, not a series of episodes placed between the subject's birth and adulthood. No other text like this survives from antiquity, though Onesicritus' lost work *How Alexander was Brought Up*⁹³ may have been similar. Even *Prot. Jas.* is more appropriately considered a biography of Mary, from conception to adulthood, than a true "infancy gospel" of Jesus. That said, the discerning reader of IGT would have been aware of its relation to other Christian literature and traditions. It appears to have been written with the awareness that it is to be understood, indeed can only be understood, when

only the interpolator of Timothy of Constantinople (see above 2.1.3.2) associates IGT with docetic or adoptionist christology.

⁹³ This lost text is noted in Pelling, "Childhood and Personality," 218. Similar also are the biographies of child emperors who perished before they reached adulthood. However, these texts form a class apart from the other literature as their activities cannot anticipate future accomplishments.

placed in connection with other literature, particularly Luke. The inclusion of Luke's *Temple* story anticipates a continuation into Jesus' adult career and must presuppose also an account, perhaps Luke's account, of Jesus' birth and infancy. IGT's audience, then, would be aware of Jesus' divine paternity, of dreams/visions/portents that attend his conception and birth, and of prophetic recognitions of his future greatness.

The final category for generic comparison is function. The biographical material surveyed above functioned in several interrelated ways: to praise and elevate the subject, to show that the subject's praiseworthy characteristics were present from birth, and to make a case for the approval of the subject's accomplishments, teachings, and/or supporters. The negative stories function somewhat in reverse. Their inversion of the motifs reflect a transformation in the genre into the territory of burlesque or satire. Such transformation is consistent with genre theory.⁹⁴ IGT fills the same functions as the other biographical texts. The author has done more than simply collect formerly independent, orally-circulating tales of the young wonderworker, he has used them to present a picture of the Christian leader as a powerful figure much in the same way as the various philosophical schools do for their leaders, or as biographers or panegyric writers do for emperors and statesmen. More specific propagandistic motives may lie behind the text as well. By developing Jesus' childhood, IGT helps to combat adoptionism. And, by having Jesus curse and humiliate Jews, the author may be engaging in anti-Jewish polemic. The curse on the son of Annas, for example—"Your fruit (shall be) without root and your shoot dried up like a branch carried out by a strong wind" (*Gs* 3:2)—may be intended as a historical allegory of post-70 C.E. Jerusalem or a threat directed against the entire Jewish people. The saying against the Law (*Gs* 6:4) also may have a polemical intent, as

could any reference to the wisdom of Jesus as superior to Jewish learning. Each, if not all, of these motives can be read out of IGT. What is clear is that the text is more than a collection of puerile tales recorded for the sheer amusement of the incredulous masses.

If “meaning is genre-bound,”⁹⁵ then readers of IGT would be able to comprehend the aims of this text. Its connections with other biographical literature in form, content, and function satisfy the criteria for genre association. Early Christian and non-Christian readers, therefore, would recognize IGT as a collection of tales similar to other stories of venerated figures in their youth.

8.3.2 Idealized Elements

A third function of the childhood stories remains to be discussed for IGT. It has been shown above that both the figures in the childhood stories and the subjects of the funerary artifacts are portrayed in an idealized way—that is, as adults in children’s bodies. All of these artists and writers intended to portray their subjects this way, and by doing so, they elevated their protagonists above normal children. However, this practice may not be quite as conscious as the other functions behind the texts. The adultlike characterizations of their subjects may be more a reflection of “social viewing” than an explicit effort to strip these figures of their childlike qualities. Nevertheless, that is precisely what they have done. And IGT is a prime example of this process.

IGT’s idealized Jesus is set in a narrative world where parent-child dynamics reflect those of the author/audience’s day-to-day reality. Jesus, his parents, and his

⁹⁴ See the discussion of Alistair Fowler’s work in Burridge, *What are the Gospels*, 46.

⁹⁵ William G. Doty, “The Concept of Genre in Literary Analysis,” in *SBL Proceedings 1972: Book of Seminar Papers for 108th Annual Meeting* (ed. Lane C. McGaughy; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1972), 2:430.

neighbours interact in ways much similar to the reconstruction of children's lives offered in chapter seven. Like other parents in antiquity, Joseph is held accountable for the conduct of his son (*Gs* 2:3; 4:2). He reacts to this, as would be expected, by trying to discipline the boy (*Gs* 5:1–2). And, it is incumbent on him to have the child educated (*Gs* 6:1; 13:1), as well as to have him learn a trade (*Gs* 11, 12). The age at which Jesus begins learning a trade and letters is consistent with what is known about education and rural apprenticeships, and even the content of Jesus' lesson—the rote learning of letters—reflects the activities of the ancient schoolroom. In later additions to the text (*Gs* 10:2; 12:2), Jesus is rewarded with affection and praise for being a dutiful, obedient son. These reactions to Jesus' beneficent miracles are lacking in the earliest witnesses to the text; nevertheless, the versions' silences in these chapters are still a marked difference from the reactions to Jesus' curses. The candid, everyday moments captured in the text contribute to the charm of the narrative. They also indicate that the author is aware of the roles and behaviour expected of parents and children in his environment.

Of course, IGT's Jesus is no ordinary child. He has a maturity and wisdom that belie his age. Even at five years old, Jesus responds to those around him with cryptic sayings and obscure teachings. The first hint of this comes in Jesus' reply to his father's reprimand in *Gs* 5:3. "It is enough for you to seek me and not find," Jesus says, "but do not be distressed at this for you have a natural ignorance. And you do not see with light why I belong to you. Behold! You know not how to cause me grief. For I am yours, and I became your captive." Soon follows the revelation discourse of chapter six which reduces those listening to silence (*Gs* 6:5). Additional manifestations of his superior knowledge arise from encounters with teachers and elders (*Gs* 6:8–10; 8:1; 13:2; 14:2–4; 17:2–4). In

all cases, these manifestations prove to onlookers that Jesus is somehow special, “either a god or an angel” (*Gs* 7:4), or something else entirely. Some scholars have seen these displays of wisdom as evidence of Divine Man or gnostic Redeemer christology. But despite assertions to the contrary, IGT would make a poor representative of gnostic Jesus literature. It contains no hints of adoptionist christology or gnostic cosmogogical myths, no extended monologues or dialogues with Jesus revealing the key to liberation from matter, and no hint of dualistic views of creation. As for Divine Men, IGT’s Jesus does bear some similarity to Moses and Apollonius in their youth. They all seem to draw on supernatural knowledge, and the source of their wisdom is never explicitly revealed. However, the so-called “Divine Man” is a problematic category not least because displays of wisdom in youth are common to all kinds of figures in ancient biographical literature as well as funerary artifacts. Indeed, there is little distinction to be made between the five-year-old Jesus and the epitaph for the two-and-a-half-year-old Kritiès, who should be compared to someone of gray wisdom, or Pliny’s twelve-year-old Minicia Marcella, who read much and played little (*Ep.* 5,16). Of course the roots of Jesus’ adultlike intelligence are found also in NT representations of Jesus as a wise man. Following convention, the author of IGT has retrojected this characterization into Jesus’ childhood. But all of the childhood figures in the sources are afforded the same cognitive abilities, whether they actually were skilled at learning or their parents just hoped they would be. IGT’s Jesus merely follows a prevalent ideal in this regard.

Connected to Jesus’ cleverness is the theme of teaching, a theme which plays a leading role in this text. Indeed, the story of *Jesus and the Teacher* forms the backbone of IGT. Its first occurrence occupies about a third of the text, and together with the two

additional teacher episodes, it forms a narrative triad that points to the lesson of the gospel—namely, that Jesus is the one who teaches. All of the other tales in IGT reflect this same theme; they each function as demonstrations of Jesus' power and authority. And when the townspeople understand his lesson, Jesus turns from cursing to blessing. Tales from education appear regularly in the biographies, as do educational iconographic motifs in funerary reliefs. Most of their subjects are celebrated for their intelligence, some are said even to have surpassed the abilities of their teachers. Jesus, however, is different. From the moment he enters the schoolroom, the boy is already full of knowledge. He is never taught, yet he can amaze crowds and elders with his teachings. The difference is striking. Education, the very thing that humanizes a person in Greco-Roman culture, is revalued in the text, outstripped by the otherworldly knowledge of Jesus. Teachers expected to instruct the young miracleworker, to tame his uncontrollable nature, instead find themselves exasperated by his defiance or defeated by his superior wisdom. IGT's Jesus and perhaps Christians along with him have no need for earthly schooling; their knowledge comes from a heavenly source.⁹⁶ One can imagine the appeal such a theme would have for Christians frustrated with the curriculum of the "pagan" schoolroom.

Read in this light, the story of *Jesus and the Teacher* becomes almost comic. Zacchaeus and his peers, representative of worldly knowledge, see the boy's cleverness and wish to have him taught letters. Perhaps they even consider this an opportunity to attain glory for themselves—a bright boy like Jesus would make a great disciple. In antiquity, the learning of letters represented the beginning of a child's induction into the

⁹⁶ Later writings of the saints reflect this same theme. They do not have education stories old of them because the monks who wrote the texts rejected secular learning as irrelevant

rational, adult world. As Zacchaeus says, Jesus should be brought into the schoolroom “so that he may know all knowledge, and learn to love those his own age, and respect old age and please elders, so that he may in turn teach them to acquire a desire to be like unto children” (*Gs* 6:2). Such motives likely reflect society’s expectations of and apprehensions about children. They seem to lie behind Pliny’s praise of Junius Avitus:

This is rare in the young people of today, few of whom will yield to age or authority as being their superior. They are born with knowledge and understanding of everything; they neither respect nor desire to imitate, and set their own standards (*Ep.* 8,23 [Radice, LCL]).

Zacchaeus’ efforts, then, seem directed toward taming Jesus to the needs of the temporal world. Ultimately, however, the teacher is humiliated. His lengthy lament can be read as the funeral dirge of the outdated, earthly lore which Jesus means to supplant. “I ponder, my friends, about my shame,” Zacchaeus wails, “because I am an old man and I have been overcome by a child” (*Gs* 7:3). The original readers of the tale likely would have been amused at the teacher’s downfall, as they would by Jesus’ murder of the abusive teacher in the second version of the episode. Every primary-school educated adult, Christian and non-Christian, would identify with Jesus, and cheer as the teacher is repaid for his offense in kind.

IGT’s apparent revaluing of the education motifs only makes more explicit the connection between portrayals of childhood and societal expectations of children. To the non-Christian authors, achievement in learning is desired of children because it brings them into the adult world and guarantees them success later in life. More fundamentally, it makes them human. For IGT’s author and audience, the attainment of intelligence and wisdom remain the goal, but earthly education is insufficient for realizing it.

to their salvation (Wiedemann, *Adults and Children*, 199).

8.4 Concluding Remarks.

The aim of both this and the previous chapter was to identify the influences behind IGT's characterization of Jesus as a child. The christological propensities of the text—Jesus as a pre-existent, perhaps anti-adoptionistic, Saviour and cantankerous eschatalogical prophet—were identified in chapter six; but these show only what the author thought of the adult Jesus. The remaining elements of his character—adultlike wisdom and maturity—are derived from expectations placed upon children throughout Mediterranean culture, and perhaps beyond. The same characteristics appear in childhood tales of emperors, statesmen, poets, philosophers, and Holy Men. These extraordinary people are praised for their beauty, their fine (sometimes even divine) lineage, and for not playing, acting, or speaking like a child. Indeed, to do so would be an indignity, for in these authors' view, childhood was a time of powerlessness, of irrationality, and, for many, of abuse. Such praiseworthy qualities were not solely bestowed upon extraordinary figures, however. Their use in funerary reliefs and epitaphs, as well as epistolary literature, prove that any child of any class could be portrayed in this manner. All segments of the culture appear to have valued and supported, though perhaps not consciously, the portrayal of the *puer senex*. But this is not what children were like. This is what adults and parents wanted their children to be like.

IGT's Jesus is consistent with the idealized portrayals of children in the other biographical sources. He does not play, speak or act like children do. His every action is charged with meaning, his every word offers a lesson to be learned. His advanced intellectual abilities confound and amaze his teachers and neighbours. And his deeds

foreshadow his future greatness. IGT depicts the young Jesus as mature and wise not because he is not really human—neither gnostic Redeemer nor god-child—but because in the eyes of the text’s author and audience, these things make him human.

CHAPTER 9

Conclusion

This study began by mourning the lack of progress in scholarship on IGT. More than three hundred years have passed since the recovery of the first MS of the text. In that time numerous additional MSS have been found, but not all of them published. As a result several branches of the MS tradition remain relatively unexplored, including *Eth*, *Lm*, *Lt*, and *Syr*. And until now a large portion of the Greek tradition also had been sorely neglected. As the number of witnesses to IGT increased, scholars excused their reluctance to work extensively with the gospel by claiming that the MS tradition was too complex. The physical evidence for IGT thus became a monolith that few were willing to approach. Some chipped away at this stone by editing individual representatives of one branch or another, and some endeavoured to sketch the transmission history of the text. But rarely did the study of IGT progress much beyond text-critical matters. When it did, the bulk of the scholarship focused on determining the text's origins. Most often, this meant associating the text with Gnosticism. As for the proclivities of the childhood tales themselves, they have been almost universally characterized as puerile or crude. This characterization has led to a discriminatory treatment of the text. No other explanation accounts for scholars' refusal to subject IGT to the kind of thorough investigation typically employed in the study of the NT gospels.

But there is much to discover in this grossly overlooked text. This study has endeavoured to advance scholarship on IGT in several ways. The first entailed tracing the development of the theory of gnostic composition. Section one's overview of scholarship

indicated that the theory rests on the identification of IGT with the “Gospel of Thomas” of many of the ancient citations. The recovery of the true *Gos. Thom.* should have brought an end to the theory, but it continues to influence discussions of the text, particularly with regard to the notion that IGT was once a longer text now expurgated of gnostic elements. Once scholars finally sever the tie between IGT and the citations, the text can be assessed on its own merits. No longer will it be assumed that material has been removed from the text, and no longer should IGT’s Jesus be associated with gnostic christology. The second advance occasioned by the dissertation deals directly with the Greek MS tradition. Since Tischendorf’s day, nine additional Greek MSS of IGT have been discovered, but only one of these has been published. Now all known Greek MSS of the text have been collated and placed in a schema of transmission. The four-column synopsis of chapter four presented all of the evidence of the witnesses and should prove an effective tool in subsequent scholarship. The synopsis is also relatively neutral with regards to transmission theories; therefore, anyone could use the information regardless of which recension is believed to be primary.

One particular MS of IGT, of course, is considered here to be the most important of all. It was instrumental in implementing the dissertation’s third advance in scholarship—namely, the establishment of an early, stable text in IGT’s language of origin. This MS is *Saba 259*, the eleventh-century representative of *Gs*. Sever Voicu’s vital work on IGT proved convincingly that *Gs* stands in an intermediary position between the short recension of the early versions and the long recension of the later Greek MSS. Voicu was far too pessimistic in his evaluation of *Gs*, however. Its readings are very close to those of the versions—in some cases they may even be better—and,

with the removal of chapters 1, 10, 17, 18, and several minor additions, *Gs* virtually becomes the Greek text that lies behind the versions. Since IGT likely was composed in Greek, scholars should be quick to embrace *Gs* as an excellent witness to the original text. The hegemony of Tischendorf's edition may finally be at an end.

Having a stable text in hand assisted in the next step forward in the study of IGT: a detailed determination of its origins and literary proclivities. Through analysis of the true IGT citations and a few pieces of internal evidence, it was shown that IGT was likely composed prior to the time of Irenaeus, perhaps even in the same circles as Luke-Acts—Luke's gospel is the only Christian text the author appears to know, and both IGT and Luke appear to have been composed by non-Jews steeped in Jewish traditions. Christologically, IGT has affinities with eschatological prophets in the style of Elijah who are as likely to curse as they are to bless. This connection becomes apparent once one realizes that the actions, words, and behaviour of the young Jesus are meant to reflect the author's views of the adult Jesus.

The behaviour of the young Jesus brings the discussion to the final advance in IGT scholarship occasioned by the dissertation. Reacting to theories that IGT's all-wise, fully mature Jesus represents either Divine Man or gnostic Redeemer christology, the third section of the dissertation looked at ways children were viewed in the ancient world as a key to understanding portrayals of Jesus as a child. The reconstruction of a typical child's life indicated that adults desired their young to grow to adulthood quickly. Depictions of children by adults reflect this desire: their subjects are praised for their early signs of intelligence and solemnity. Compared to other accounts of venerated

figures in their youth, and to images from epitaphs and funerary reliefs, IGT's Jesus appears more ordinary than a modern reader would expect.

The key to unlocking the secrets of IGT involves breaking the narrative down to its constituent parts. The cruelty in Jesus' behaviour must be considered in light of the notion that character and personality are set at birth. Therefore, the boy curses his opponents because the author believes that the adult Jesus would do the same. The lack of development in Jesus' character that has been frequently observed in the text is attributable to the same motives; indeed, the very idea that Jesus should alter his behaviour reflects modern, not ancient, readers' uneasiness with IGT. And last, the apparently supernatural wisdom and maturity of the young Jesus has to be evaluated in the context of other examples of texts and artwork in which children are afforded the same qualities. In the final result, IGT may appear somewhat drab compared to more dramatic portrayals of Jesus in such texts as *Gos. Thom.* and other so-called "heretical" gospels, but given its proper place, the text has much to offer discussions of early Christian piety, social history, and biography.

This dissertation, weighty though it is, is really just a beginning for the study of IGT. There is still so much that remains to be done. A complete critical edition of the text will not be possible until all of the branches of the tradition have been fully evaluated. The editions of *Eth* and *Lm* used here are based on MSS that may not be representative of their individual traditions, and several witnesses to *Syr* have yet to be evaluated. *Lt* too is still relatively unexplored, though admittedly this late Latin translation represents a tertiary development in the text's history. As for IGT's content, the relative neglect of IGT has left it untouched by many of the methods employed in the analysis of early

Christian literature. This dissertation has touched on some of these—principally, literary criticism and socio-historical criticism—but there are numerous other approaches that could be applied fruitfully to IGT.

Progress can only be made, however, if scholars put aside anachronistic judgements of the stories. Even in *Gs*, Jesus is still precocious and cruel. And for some scholars, no explanation for this portrayal will make the text any more attractive. IGT may be doomed to neglect. Like children in antiquity, biographies of Jesus become interesting to adults only when they reach adulthood. And like the adults who transformed children according to their cultures' view of the ideal child, scholars are far more comfortable with their own idealized vision of Jesus than the Jesus of the childhood tales.

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